ONTENTS

विद्वन्मानसहंसाना

गोलोकमधिनिष्ठताम् ।

गोविन्दभट्टपादानां

स्मृतिरेषा सनातनी ॥

Prof Govindlal Hargovind Bhatt explaining the working of the Institute to Dr Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan

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PROF. GOVINDALAL H. BHATT—IN MEMORIAM

By

J. S. PADE, Baroda

Prof. Govindalal H Bhatt was an eminent scholar of Śuddhādvaita Vedānta, Classical Sanskrit literature, epics and Purānas and Gujarati language and literature

Prof Bhatt was born on September, 26, 1901 at Dāvol in Borsad Taluka of Kaira District, Gujarat State His father Śrī Haragovinda Bhatt was well known as a preacher of Purānas and was also an Ayurvedic practitioner Unfortunately Prof Bhatt lost his father when he was five months old and was brought up under the care of his mother Kāśiben and his uncle who was a Baroda State servant. Prof. Bhatt's maternal uncle, who was a well-read Sanskrit Pandit and a follower of Śaṅkarācārya, took special interest in the education of his nephew and from his very childhood made him acquainted with the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata, Kāvyas, Nāṭakas, Subhāsitas as well as the teachings of Vedanta Prof. Bhatt's father-in-law Śrī Maganlal Shastri was a leading authority on the Pustimārga of Vallabhācārya Thus were sown the seeds of the teachings of Vedānta, Epics and Purānas in Govindalal Bhatt who was destined to prepare a Critical Edition of the Rāmāyana of Vālmīki and to guide a number of students in different branches of Indology.

He had his higher education in the Ferguson College, Poona and in the Baroda College where he took his B.A. degree with First Class (Hons.) with Sanskrit (Principal) and Gujarati (Subsidiary) and joined the Deccan College, Poona for M.A. where he had the good fortune to have Dr S. K. Belvalkar,

Prof. Maganalal Shastri and Prof. B. K. Thakore as his University teachers. At M.A. Prof. Bhatt stood first with Vallabha's Vedānta as his special subject. In 1926, he was appointed as a Junior Professor of Sanskrit in the Baroda College. After about 1930 he was appointed as the Head of the Department of Sanskrit of this College. He was a well reputed Professor, admired and respected by his students. From 1926 to 1950 he trained a number of scholars in Sanskrit some of whom are at present well known in different branches of Indology In 1950 Prof. Bhatt became the Acting Director of the Oriental Institute and from 1952, when the Late Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya retired, he was confirmed as the Director.

As the Director of the Oriental Institute he enhanced its reputation and furthered the activities of the Oriental Institute by starting the Journal of the Oriental Institute and by directing as the General Editor the work of the Critical Edition of the Rāmāyana of Vālmīki. Prof. Bhatt himself edited the Bālakāṇḍa of the Critical Edition of the Ramāyana.

Prof. Bhatt wrote a number of papers both in Gujarati & English, and also edited a number of works amongst which the following are noteworthy

(1) Shri Tāmasaphala Prakarana Subodhinī (Bhagavata, 10.29-35) with an introduction and Gujarati translation (1943)

(2) Anubhāṣya—Second adhyāya with Vivaraṇa (1950)

(3) Vaiyyāsakinyāyamālā of Vrajanātha (1950)

(4) Patrāvalambana—with three commentaries— Gujarati translation and notes (1960)

(5) Pāda-Index of Vālmīki's Rāmāyana (Gaekwad's Oriental Series in two volumes) (1961)

(6) Śuddhādvaita-siddhānta-pradīpa (in Gujarati) (1957)

(7) Brahmasūtra—Anubhāsya—First Adhyāya with translation and introduction (in Guj 1945)

(8) Viśvanā Dharmo (in Gujarati) (1955)

(9) Rājyābhiseka Grantha (in Gujarati) (1950)

(10) Ātmavṛttānta of Śrī Chotālāl Narabherām Bhatt with introduction (in Gujarati) (1953)

Prof. Bhatt was a life member of various research bodies like the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, the Vishveshvaranand Research Institute, Hoshiarpur etc.

He retired as Director, Oriental Institute in 1958 but continued to work as the Head of the Rāmāyana Department and General Editor of the Critical Edition of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa till he breathed his last on April 4, 1965,

On 15-8-1964, about eight months before his passing away, his services to the cause of Sanskrit learning were recognised by the President of India by an award of a *Certificate of Honour*.

On account of his death the world of learning has lost a great Sanskrit Scholar

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EDITOR

QUOTATIONS FROM THE RĀMĀYAṆA IN THE KATHĀ LITERATURE

By

LUDWIK STERNBACH, New York (N Y.)

1. The aim of this study is to ascertain what verses in the main *kathā*-works are identical or almost identical with the Rāmāyaṇa (R.); to analyze them, and to establish, as far as possible, whether they are quotations from the Rāmāyana or another work of Sanskrit literature.

As far as the R is concerned, the critical Baroda edition (R (Bar)) (first four volumes) [1], the Bombay edition (R (B)) and R (R) [2], the Eastern version (R (G)) [3] and the North-Western version (R (L) [4] were used.

As the main *kathā* works the Pañcatantra (P) in all its different versions [5] the Hitopadeśa (H) [6], the Śukasaptati (Śuk) in two versions [7]; the Vetālapañ-

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[1] The Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa Critically edited for the first time Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1960 At the time when this study was prepared only the the first four volumes of this work were available to me

[2] Rāmāyana Bombay edition Edition, Reprinted in MS form Bombay (no date), *Also:* Srimadvālmiki Rāmayanam, published by N Ramaratnam, Second ed revised Printed at the M L J Press, Private Ltd., Mylapore, Madras, 1958

[3] Rāmāyaṇa, poema indico di Valmici Testo sanscrito secondo i codici manoscritti della scuola Gauḍana per Gaspare Gorresio 5 vols, Parigi, 1843-50

[4] Lahore edition

[5] Tantrākhyāyikā version, in Harvard Oriental Series, No 14 (PT) and in *Abhandlungen der phil -hist Klasse der kon saahs Ges der Wiss* XXII 5, Leipzig, 1904 (PTem) The Southern version in *Abhandlungen der phil -hist. Klasse der kon sachs Ges der Wiss* XXIV 5, Leipzig, 1906 (PS)

The Nepālī version, as quoted in PS lxxxix, 100-26, J Hertel's P T, Leipzig und Berlin, B G Teubner, 1909, I. pp. 117-35 and PRE, 2 192-258. (PN)

The *textus ornatior* version (of Pūrṇabhadra) in Harvard Oriental Series Nos. 11-12 (PR)

The *textus simplicior* version in Bombay Sanskrit Series 1, 2 and 4 (Pts) and edited by I G.L Kosegarten (Ptsk)

The Jaina-Recension (Meghavijaya) in ZDMG 57 639 (PM)

The Pancatantra of Durgsiṃha by A Veṅkatasubbish. in *Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik*, 6. 255 sqq. (PD), and.

The Pañcatantra Reconstructed by F Edgerton, in *American Oriental Series,* Nos 2-3 (PRE)

[6] The working text was by F Johnson, second edition, Hartford-London, 1864 (HJ.) For the correlation with other seven texts, see L. Sternbach, The Hitopadeśa and its Sources, in *American Oriental Series*, No 44 Annex

[7] Śukasaptati *textus simplicior* in *Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 10 1.

Śukasaptati, *textus ornatior* (Śto) in *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil. Kl 21.2

cavimśatikā (Vet.) in two versions [8] and the Vikramacarita (Vik.) in four versions [9] were considered.

As far the Mahābhārata is concerned, the critical Poona edition (MBh) (Bh), the P.C. Roy's Bombay edition (MBh (R)) [10] and the Calcutta edition (MBh (C)) [11] were used.

The detailed anlysis of the twenty-two verses[12] (or twenty-four) identical (or almost identical) in R. and different *kathā*-works is given in the Annex.

2. The Rāmāyaṇa is a compact work; it never brakes the solid chain of one principal and paramount subject which it always keeps in view It contains few didactic discourses and, quite differently from the Mahābhārata, contains very few sententious maxims. While the Mahābhārata is an encyclopaedia and a thesaurus of Hindu mythology and legendary stories, an anthology of sententious maxims and gnomic verses, the Rāmāyana is a story book, a story of a legend which became an epic.

3. The rarity of sententious maxims in the Rāmāyana is the reason why only in few cases the Rāmāyana verses were quoted in the *kathā* literature. While some verses of the Mahābhārata could have been traced in the main *kathā* works to that epic, it was possible to identify only twenty-two different verses, as identical in the main *kathā* works and in the Rāmāyana. Out of these twenty-two verses fifteen appear both in the Rāmāyana and in the Mahabhārata [13]. In most cases the text, as it appears in the *kathā* works stands even nearer to the Mahābhārata, than to the Rāmāyana, that seems to prove that these verses in the *kathā* works were not quotations from the Rāmāyana but from the Mahābhārata Sometimes, however, the verse is identical, or almost identical, in the Rāmāyana on one side and in the Mahābhārata and in the *kathā* work, on the other, than, of course, if there are no other bases for the identification of the verse. it is impossible to conclude whether the verse is a quotation from the Rāmāyana or from the Mahābhārata.

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[8] The Vetālapañcavimsatikā, Śivadāsa version, (Vet.) in *Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 8. 1

The Vetālapancavimsatikā, Śivadāsa version according to the MS samvat 1544, (Vet Hu[1] and Hu[2]) in *Berichte uber die Verhandlungen der kon sachs Ges. der Wiss Phil -hist. Kl* 66. 1

[9] Vikrama's Adventures in four recensions Southern (VCsr), Metrical (VCmr), Brief (VCbr), Jainistic (VCjr) in *Harvard Oriental Series* Nos 26 and 27

[10] Third edition, Calcutta 1886-8 (MBh (R)).

[11] Published by the Asiatic Society, Bengal 834-9. (MBh (C))

[12] Two verses occur in two different kanda-s. No. 6 in the Ayodhyā-kānḍa and in the Uttara-kānḍa and No 9 in the Aranya-kāṇḍa and the Yuddha-kānḍa, so that the number of Rāmāyaṇa verses quoted in the kathā literature amounts to 24

[13] Nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14=9, 15, 20, 21, 27, 23=6 and 24.

4. The philological analysis of the fifteen verses quoted in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and at least one *kathā* work shows that two verses (Nos. 7 and 15) were borrowed from the Mahābhārata (the Hitopadeśa text [No. 7] and the Pañcatantra text, but not in the Southern and the Durgāsiṃha versions) and not from the Rāmāyaṇa, one verse (No. 4) was borrowed from the Eastern Recension of the Rāmāyaṇa, as included in the Kiskindhā-kāṇḍa, (but not as included in the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa) and not from the Mahābhārata or other versions of the Rāmāyaṇa (the Pañcatantra, Vetāla-pañcaviṃśatikā and the Vikramacarita text); and the rest, *i.e.* twelve verses were borrowed either from the Mahābhārata or from the Rāmāyana (Nos. 1, 11 and 20 which are Pañcatantra verses; Nos. 9/1/4, and 22 which are Pañcatantra, Hitopadeśa, Vikramacarita, and Śukasaptati verses; Nos. 13 and 24 which are Hitopadeśa verses [No. 24 with variants], Nos. 6/23 which are Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa verses), the Mahābhārata or from the Eastern version of the Rāmāyaṇa (No. 12 which is a Pañcatantra verse; No. 21 which is a Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa verse [but the Hitopadeśa verse with variants].

If the verses were included in the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata on the one hand and the Pañcatantra and the Hitopadeśa on the other, the Hitopadeśa text is usually further removed from the original, *i.e.* from the Mahābhārata and/or from the Rāmāyana, this is quite understandable, since, the Hitopadeśa if also included in the Pancatantra, were usually borrowed not from the original source, but from the Pañcatantra and with each subsequent borrowing the language of the original verse changed more and more.

5. The philological analysis, however, does not always prove the point in question, since the variants are often unimportant and the borrowing could have been made by the compilers of the *kathā* works not from the epics directly but from the floating mass of oral tradition. Also the fact that in some cases, from the philological point of view, the borrowing of one or another Pañcatantra or Hitopadeśa verse was made from the Eastern or from the North Western version does not prove that this text was only prevalent in the part of India. It could have been included by haphazard in one or another text.

6. Of the remaining nine verses which are identical or almost identical in the Rāmāyana (only) and one or another text of the *kathā* literature, three verses are found in the Hitopadeśa (Nos. 5, 8 and 10 in all three cases, but in particular in verse No. 10, the Hitopadeśa text changed partly the Rāmāyana text); two verses are found in the Pañcatantra (Nos. 18 and 19; the variants are small, verse No. 18 follows the North-Western Version of the Rāmāyana); one verse is found in the Pañcatantra and the Hitopadeśa (No. 2, the Hitopadeśa has more important variants than the Pañcatantra, in particular the Nepālese version of the Pañcatantra); two verses are found in the Vetālapañca-

viṃśatikā (Nos. 16 and 17; both these verses were borrowed directly from the Rāmāyaṇa, since both, one after the other, occur in the Rāmāyana); and one is found in the Vikramacarita (No. 3; it is nearer to the Eastern version of the Rāmāyaṇa than to any other text of the Rāmāyaṇa).

7. Of the four verses which are similar, but not exactly the same in the Rāmāyaṇa and in the various *kathā* works, one appears in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Māhābhārata and the Pañcatantra (No. 26) and three appear in the Rāmāyana and the Pañcatantra only (Nos. 25, 27 and 28). These four verses were probably influenced by the Rāmāyaṇa and/or the Māhābhārata (No. 26 only).

8. All the verses analyzed in the annex are well known; they appear also in other works of Sanskrit literature, in particular among so-called Cāṇakya's maxims (Nos. 4, 7, 11, 12, 21, 22 and 24) and the Garuḍa-purāṇa (Nos. 6/23), but also among the Bhartṛhari's Śataka-s, the Skanda-purāna, the Gobhila-smṛti, the Pañcarātra, the Divyāvadāna; almost all are also quoted in Subhāṣita-samgraha-s, proving their popularity, and some were even included in the literature of "Greater India" (Nos. 6/23, 7, 11, 19 and 24)

9. In the annex the various Rāmāyana verses, which also occur in some *kathā* works are quoted in the order as they appear in the Rāmāyaṇa. First the Rāmāyana text is given, then references: (1) to the Rāmāyaṇa text; (2) to the Mahābhārata text, if the Rāmāyana text appears also in the Mahābhārata; (3) to the *kathā* works; (4) to other primary sources; (5) to secondary sources (*i.e.* anthologies, Subhāsita-samgraha-s); and (6) to works of "Greater India". Then variants from the Rāmāyana text are given. These variants show to what extent the Rāmāyana text or, where applicable the Mahābhārata text, was used in the *kathā* works. Not all variants were quoted, but only those which show the extent of borrowing from one or another source.

10. The results of the analysis of the Rāmāyana verses identical in the different *kathā* works are summarized in the following table. It gives in the first fifteen lines those Rāmāyana verses which occur also in the Mahābhārata and in one or more *kathā* works. The next twelve lines deal with those verses which appear only in the Rāmāyaṇa and in one or more *kathā* works.

Figures in brackets in the first column refer to the Rāmāyana verses which are only similar but not identical in the Rāmāyana and in the *kathā* works. × denotes that the Rāmāyana verse occurs in the respective *kathā* works or other sources. The last column gives the probable primary source (pps.) of the *kathā* verses which occur in the Rāmāyana.

11. The following additional abbreviations[14] were used in the analytical table and in the annexes:

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[14] For other abbreviations see para 1. above (footnotes 1-11).

AKM.	Abhandlungen fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes, herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.
AJPh.	American Journal of Philosophy.
AlK.	Alamkārakaustubha of Viśveśvara Pt. Kāvyamālā 66.
AP.	Alamkāramuktāvalī by Parvatīya Śrī Viśveśvara Pāṇḍeya. Kāśi SSR. 54.
BhŚ.	Śatakatrayādi-subhāsitasaṅgraha of Bhartṛhari...by D.D. Kośambi. Singhī Jaina Granthamālā 23. Bombay, 1948
CKr.	Stimmen indischer Lebensklugheit. Die unter Cānakya's Namen gehende Spruchsammlung in mehreren Recensionen untersucht und nach einer Recension (Vṛddha-cānakya) ubersetzt bei O. Kressler, in *Indica* 4. Leipzig, 1907.
CNG.	The Recension of Cānakya used by Galanos for his 'Ek' διαφορων ποιητω by George Melville Bolling. In Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield. New Haven, 1920.
CNI I	MS. No 1518a (Eggeling 3990) in the Library of the India Office, London.
GNP I	MS. No. 17072-3 (A) in the Université de Paris. Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
CNP II	CN MS No. 17072-1 (B) in the Université de Paris. Institut de Civilisation Indienne.
CNPh.	CN MS. No. 1566 in the University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia Pa.
CNT IV.	CN, MS. No 5119, as quoted in CKr. as TjD.
CNW.	CN, A Weber. Uber 100 Spruche des Cānakya In Monatsberichte der kon Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1864. Berlin, 1865, pp 400-31.
CnT.	Note-book MSs.
CnT II.	CnT ; MS. No. 5117, as quoted in CKr. as TjB.
CnT III.	CnT ; MS. No 5118, as quoted in CKr. as TjC.
CnT V	CnT ; MS. No. 5120, as quoted in CKr as TjE.
CPS.	Vrddha-Cānakya. Ed. by Pt. Śrī Rāma Śāstri. Calcutta, 1777.
CRr.	Cānakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version, reconstructed. see CTT.
CSr.	Cāṇakyasāra-sāmgraha version. reconstructed. See CTT.
CTT.	L. Sternbach. Cānakya-Nīti-Text-Tradition, Vishveshvaranand Indological Series 27, 28, 29.

CVr. Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, *textus ornatior* version, reconstructed. See CTT.

Cvr. Vṛddha-cāṇakya, *textus simplicior* version, reconstructed. See CTT.

Damp. Dampatīśikṣāṇāmaka, as quoted in IS.

GP. Garuḍa-Purāṇa.. Maharṣi Vedavyāsa...Ed. by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara. Calcutta, 1890.

HS. Hitopadeas id est Institution Salutaris. Textum cood. mss. collatis recensuerunt, interpretationem latinam et annotationes criticas adiecerunt Augustus Guilelmus a Schlegel et Caristianus Lassen. Pars. I: textum sanscritum tenens. Pars. II. commentarium criticum tenens. Bonnae ad Rhenum, 1831. typis regiis. Prostat apud Eduardum Weber. bibliopolam Bonnensem.

IS Indische Spruche, Sanskrit and Deutsch herausgegeben von O. Böhtlingk. Zweite vermehrte u. verbesserte Ausgabe. I-III. St. Petersburg, 1870-3.

JAOS. Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JASB Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JM. Jalhna's Mugdhopadeśa, in KM. VIII 125

JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,

JS The Sūktimuktāvalī of Bhagadatta Jalhana.Ed....by Embar Krishnamāchārya. Baroda, 1938. GOS. 82.

JSAIL. L. Sternbach, Juridical Studies in Ancient Indian Law.
24. in No. 28 of the American Oriental Society Reprint Series.
26. In S. K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume, pp. 127-48.
30. In the JAOS. 83. 1; pp. 30-67.
31. In Mm. Pt. Gopinath Kaviraj Commemoration Volume.

KṣB. The Bṛhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra Edited by.. Paṇḍit Śivaddatta ....and Kāśīnāth Pāndurang Parab. KM. 69. Bombay, 1901. *Also*: Der Auszug aus dem Pañcatantra in Kṣemendras Bṛhatkathāmañjarī. Einleitung, Text, Ubersetzung und Anmerkungen von Leo von Mankowski.. .Leipzig, 1892.

KSS. Kathāsaritsāgara. Ed by H. Brockhaus. AKM. 2.5 and 4.5.

LN (P). The Lokanīti in " Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources; or the Nīti Literature of Burma" by J. Gray,

London, Truebner and Co., 1886. (Pāli) and in JASB 47, Part I, Calcutta, 1878 p. 239 sqq.

NKy (B). Nrti Kyan. Translation of a Burmese Version of the Nīti Kyan a Code of Ethics in Pālī (Burmese) JRAS 17 of 1860. p. 252 sqq.

NM (T). Nītiśāstra of Masūrākṣa. Tibetan and Sanskrit with an Introduction in English, by Sunitikumar Pathak. Viśva Bhārati Annals Vol. X. Santiniketan, 1961. (Tibetan).

NMS. Nāradīya-manu-saṃhitā. Ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, 97.

PrC. Prabandha-cintāmani of Merutuṅgācārya. Ed. by Jinavijaya Muni. Siṅghī Sanskrit Series, 1.

ŚKDr. Śábdakalpadruma I-V, CHSS 93.

SkP. Skanda-Purāna Veṅkateśvara Press, Bombay, 1908-9.

ŚP. The Paddhati of Śārṅgadhara, a Sanskrit anthology. Edited by Peter Peterson......Vol. I. BSS. 37. Bombay, 1888.

SR Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra. Enlarged and re-edited by Narāyaṇa Rāma Āchārya Kāvyatīrtha 8th Edition. Nirnaya Sāgar Press, Bombay, 1952.

SRH Sūktiratnahāra of Sūrya. Ed by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstri Trivandrum Sanskrit Series CXLI, Śrī Citrodayamañjarī XXX, Trivandrum, 1938.

SRK. Subhāṣitaratnākara A collection of witty and epigrammatic savings in Sanskrit. Compiled and edited by Krsna Śāstrī Bhāṭavaḍekar. Bombay, 1872.

SRN (T). Sa-skya legs-bcad Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi. W. L. Campbell, Ost-Asiatische Zeitung, Neue Folge 2 of 1925, pp. 31-65. 159-185. (Tibetan and Mongolian).

SS (OJ). Sārasamuccaya in Śata-piṭaka Series, 24. (Old javanese)

Sakr. Samskṛta-pāṭhopakāraka, as quoted in IS.

SuM. Subhāsitamuktāvalī. Ed. by R. N. Dandekar. University of Poona, 1962.

VP. Padyataraṅgiṇī of Vrajanātha, as quoted by N. A. Gore in P.O. 11.46-56.

VS. The Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva. Edited by Peter Peterson BSS. 31. Bombay, 1886.

ZDMG. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

R.	MBh.	P.	H.	Vet.	VC.	Śuk.	C.	GP.	Other p.S.	Subh.	Gr. In.	Remarks
1.	×	×							×	×		P. pps. MBh or R.
4.	×	×		×	×		×		×	×		P, Vet, VC pps. R (G) Kiskindhākāṇḍa
6.	×	×	×					×	×	×	×	P. pps. MBh or R; (H. different)
7.	×		×				×		×	×	×	P, H pps. MBh. (PD. different)
9.	×	×	×		×	×				×		P, H, VC, Śuk. pps. MBh. or R.
11.	×	×					×			×	×	P. pps. MBh or R.
12.	×	×					(×)			×		P. pps. MBh or R(G).
13.	×		×							×		H. pps. MBh. or R.
14.	×	×	×		×	×				×		See No. 9
15.	×	×										P. pps. MBh.
20	×	×							×	×		P. pps. MBh. or R. (nearest to SKP).
21.		×	×				×			×		P, H pps. MBh or R(G), (H. different)
22		×	×		×	×				×	×	P, H, VC, Śuk. pps. MBh. or R.
23.	×	×	×					×	×	×	×	See No 6
24.	×		×				×	×	×	×	×	H. pps. MBh. or R with variants.
(26)	×	×								×		Cf. MBh. and R.
2.		×								×		H. pps. R with variants.
3.					×					×		VC. pps. R. nearest to R (G).
5.			×									H pps. R.
8.			×							×		H. pps R.
10.			×							×		H. pps. R.
16.				×						×		Vet. pps. R. (quoted together from one place).
17.				×						×		
18.		×								×		P. pps. R (L).
19		×								×	×	P. pps. R.
(25)		×										Cf. R.
(27)		×										Cf. R.
(28)		×										Cf. R.

ANNEXTURE

1 गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः [1] ।
उत्पथं प्रतिपन्नस्य [2] कार्यं [3] भवति शासनम् [4] ॥

R (Bar) II App. I. No. 12, R. 75+D_2 Ins and *ad* 2.18, 11 (454 * l. 3-4) i R (B) 2.21, 13: R (R) 2.21, 13, R (G) 2.22, 11: R (L) 2.25, 12.

MBh (Bh) 12 138, 48; MBh (R) 1.142, 52-3, 5, 179, 25; 12.140, 48; MBh (C) 12, 5294-5.

P (PT 1, 121, PTem 1.110; PN 2.87, PP 1.169, PF 1.306; 1.341; PRE 1.120).

Prabodhacandıodaya 1.22, Pañcarātra 1.10, 20.

SRHt 90.5, ŚKDr *ad* परित्याग, SRK 249 80, SR 167.634, IS 2180.

2 स्पृशन्निव [1] गजो हन्ति जिघ्रन्निव [2] भुजंगमः ।
स्मयन्निव नृपो हन्ति [3] मानयन्निव [4] दुर्जनः ॥

R (Bar) *ad* 2.23, 32 (610 *) in Dd_1 Dm_2 D_4 $T_{1,\ 2}$, ıns (only) and ed. Schlegel 2.26, 35.

P (PT 3.55, PTem 3.42; PS 3.31; PN 3.26; PP 3. p. 185, l. 21 [*cf.* 2.170], Pts 3.83; PFK 3 80; PM 2.65; PRE 3.43); H (HJ 3.15).

(*Cf.* Rājataranginī 5 323).

ŚP 1447, VS 2752, SRHt 238.24, SR 153.22; IS 7249.

3 नातन्त्री वाद्यते वीणा नाचक्रो वर्तते रथः ।
नापतिः सुखमेधेत [1] या स्यादपि शतात्मजा [2] ॥

R (Bar) 2 34, 25, R (B) 2, 39, 29, R (R) 2.39, 29-30; R (G) 2.38, 24. VCsr 30.12.

SRHt 26.1, IS 3552

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1 [1] कार्याकार्यण्यजानत. PT (PRE as above).
[2] उत्पथप्रतिपन्नस्य PT MBh (Bh).
[3] न्याय्यं PT; दण्डो MBh (Bh) but D_7 TG_5 M_3 as above.
[4] कामकारप्रवृत्तस्य (कामचारं) न कार्यं भुवनो वध R (Bar) (but 454 * as above). R (G), R (L).

2 [1] अपि PT (but PN as above). HJ.
[2] अपि PT (but PN as above), HJ.
[3] हसन्नपि च वेतालो PT, हसन्नपि नृपो हन्ति PRE; पालयन्नपि भूपाल HJ.
[4] अपि PT (but PN as above); प्रहसन्नपि HJ.

3 [1] आप्नोति R (G), VCsr.
[2] नारी यद्यपि सुप्रजा R (G), नारी बन्धुशतैरपि VCsr.

4 मितं ददाति हि पिता मितं माता [1] मितं सुतः ।
अमितस्य हि [2] दातारं [3] भर्तारं का न पूजयेत् [4] ॥

R (Bar) 2.34, 26 and 4. App. 1, No. 11, l. 48-9 ; R (B) 2.39, 30; R (R) 2.39, 30-1; R (G) 2.38, 25 and 4.20, 4.
MBh (Bh) 12.144, 6; MBh (R) 12.148, 6; MBh (C) 12. 5566-7.
P (PFK 3.156, PM 3.55); Vet 4.19; VCsr 30.9.
C (CNP II 220; CNT IV 175).
ŚP 4011; SRHt 29, 2; SR 361.4; 154848, Daṁp 60.
(*Cf.* AJPh 20.29; JSAIL 30.99 and 31.1.

5 शोचन्तो ननु [1] सस्नेहा बान्धवाः सुहृदस्तथा ।
पातयन्ति गतं [2] स्वर्गादश्रुपातेन [3] राघव ॥

R (Bar.) 2. App. I. No. 23, 97-8; R (G) 2.81, 22; R (L) 2.85, 22.
H (HS 4.74).
IS 6535.

6 सर्वे क्षयान्ता निचयाः [1] पतनान्ताः [2] समुच्छ्रयाः ।
संयोगा विप्रयोगान्ता [3] मरणान्तं च [4] जीवितम् [5] ॥

R (Bar) 2 98, 16 and 7. n. l., R (B) 2.105, 16 and 7.52, 11; R (R) 2.105, 16 and 7.52, 11, R (G) 2.114, 3,—
MBh (Bh) 12 27, 29, 11.2, 3; 12.317, 20 and 14.44, 18, MBh (R) 12.27, 29, 11.2, 3; 12 330, 20 and 14 44,19, MBh (C) 12.829, 11.48. 12.12501 and 14.1230.
P (PT 2 165, PTem 2.147; PF in Göttingen Gelebrfe Aur 1862, p. 1363), H, (HS *ad* 1.180; HH 32.25): (*cf.* KSS 9.51, 26-7).
Gobhila-smṛti (Ânss) 3.43; Divyāvadāna (ed. Cowell) p. 27; GG 1.115, 60.
SRHt 262.7. SR 372.167, IS 6948.
SS (OJ) 471.
(*Cf.* JSALL 30.74, 31.4).

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4 [1] भ्राता R (G) Kiskındhākāṇḍa, P, Vet, VCsr.
[2] तु MBh, Vet; च VCsr.
[3] दायकः R (G) Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa (only).
[4] सुखस्यार्थपतिः स्त्रियाः R (G) Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa (only).

5 [1] शोचमानस्तु HS.
[2] स त HS.
[3] स्वर्गम् R (G)

6 [1] सर्वत्र जन्तोर्नियमात् H.
[2] पतनश्च H.
[3] संयोगाश्च वियोगाश्च (°गान्ता R (G)) H, R (G).
[4] हि MBh, H.
[5] जीवनं H.

7 यथा काष्ठं च काष्ठं च समेयातां महार्णवे [1] ।
समेत्य च व्यपेयातां [2] कालमासाद्य कंचन [3] ॥

R (Bar) 2.98, 25; R (B) 2.105, 26; R (R) 2.105, 26; R (G) 2.114, 12,
MBh (Bh) 12.28, 36 and 12.168, 15; MBh (R) 12.28, 36 and 12.174, 16; MBh (C) 12.868-9 and 12.6471-2.
H (HJ 4.72).
C (CR r "N"; CPS 151.47).
VS 3287; SRHt 263.17, IS 5093; Sskṛ 57.
SS (OJ) 490.
(*Cf.* JSAIL 24.106; 30.85, 31.5).

8 नगरस्थो वनस्थो वा [1] पापो वा यदि वाशुभः [2] ।
यासां स्त्रीणां प्रियो भर्ता तासां लोका महोदयाः ॥

R (Bar) 2.109, 23, R (B) 2.117, 23; R (R) 2.117, 22-3, R (G) 3.2,22.
H (HS 3 28).
IS 3218.

9 सुलभाः पुरुषा राजन्सततं प्रियवादिनः ।
अप्रियस्य च [1] पथ्यस्य वक्ता श्रोता च दुर्लभः ॥

R (Bar) 3.35, 2, 6. n. 1., R (B) 3.37, 2 and 6.16, 21; R (R) 3.37, 2 and 6.16, 20-1; R (G) 3.41, 2 and 5.88, 16.
MBh (Bh) 5.37, 14 and *ad* 5.34, 4; 186*; MBh (R) 5.36, 15; MBh (C) 5.1348.
P (PP 1.220, PF 2.160 and 3.6; PFK 2 171; PD 303 65, PM 1 89), H (HS *ad* 2.60); ŚFs 76.7-8 and 199.6-7; VCmr 30.44-5.
Nāṭakalakṣana-ratnakośa 2948-9, ŚP 1360· VS 2838· IS 407 48; SR Ht 100.18, SR 145.115, SRK 234.33, IS 7131.

10 दीपनिर्वाणगन्धं च सुहृद्वाक्यमरुन्धतीम् ।
न जिघ्रति मुमूर्षुर्यो न शृणोति न पश्यति [1] ॥

R (Bar) *ad* 3.51, 14 (1017*, 3-4); R (B)—; R (R)—, R (G) 3.59, 16.
H (HJ 1.78).
SR 163, 448; IS 2815.

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7 [1] महोदधौ R (G). MBh (Bh), H.
[2] व्यतीयातां MBh (Bh) (but $K_{3, 5}$, V_1 B Da Dn $D_{2, 3, 5-8}$, S as above).
[3] स्थित्वा किञ्चित् क्षणान्तरम् R (G): तद्वद्भूतसमागमः MBh, H.

8 [1] समस्थो विषमस्थो वा R (G).
[2] यदि वा शुचिः R (G); वा शुचि H.

9 [1] तु R (R) 6.16, 26; R (G) 3.41.1, MBh (Bh); PP (PF as above), ŚF (both places), VCmr.

10 [1] न जिघ्रन्ति न शृण्वन्ति न पश्यन्ति गतायुषः H.

11 ब्रह्मघ्ने च सुरापे च[1] चोरे[2] भग्नव्रते तथा[3]।
निष्कृतिर्विहिता[4] सद्भिः[5] कृतघ्ने नास्ति निष्कृतिः ॥

R (Bar) 4.33. 12; R (B) 4.34, 12; R (R) 4.34.12; R (G) 4.34, 18-9.
MBh (Bh) 12.263, 11; *ad* 12.166, 25 (445 *; 27-8) and *ad* 12.267.20 (449 *; 32-3); MBh (R) 12.270, 11; MBh (C) 12.9765: *cf.* MBh (Bh) 5.105, 10.
P (PP 4.10 and 1.248; PF 4.10 and 3.157, PFK 4.11, PM 1.95).
C (CRr 7.72; CPS 185.29); GP 1.114, 69.
ŚP 704, VS 2988; ŚKDr *ad* निष्कृतिः; IS 2198.
SS (OS) 328.

12 विद्यते गोषु संपन्नं[1] विद्यते ब्राह्मणे दमः[2]।
विद्यते स्त्रीषु चापल्यं[3] विद्यते ज्ञातितो भयम्[4] ॥

R (Bar) n. 1.; R (B) 6.16, 9; R (R) 6.16, 9; R (G) 5.88, 9.
MBh (Bh) 5.36, 56; MBh (R) 5.35, 58; MBh (C) 5.1317.
P (PP 4.64; PF 4.115, PFK 4.81, PM 4.70).
(*Cf.* CSr 3.9; CNW 54, CNPh 58).
IS 6880 and 6078.

13 यो हि धर्मं समाश्रित्य[1] हित्वा भर्तुः प्रियाप्रियम्[2]।
अप्रियाण्याह पथ्यानि तेन राजा सहायवान् ॥

R (Bar) n. 1.; R (B)—; R (R)—; R (G) 5.88, 17.
MBh (Bh) 5.37, 15; MBh (R) 5.36, 16; MBh (C) 5.1349.
H (HJ 4.21).
IS 5663.

14 सुलभाः पुरुषा राजन् See No. 9.

R (Bar) n. 1., R (B) 6.16, 21, R (R) 6.16, 20-1; R (G) 5.88.16 See No. 9.

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11 [1] गोघ्ने चैव सुरापे च R (B), R (G).
[2] चौरे R (B), R (G), MBh (R). PP 4.10, PF, PFK : क्लीबे PP 1.248, R (G); गोघ्ने R (B).
[3] स्तेने च गुरुतल्पगे CRr; शठे [त°] PP 1.248, PFK.
[4] विद्यते CRr.
[5] राजन् CRr, R (G).

12 [1] संभाव्यं गोषु संपन्नं R (G), MBh, PP, PF, PFK.
[2] संभाव्यं ब्राह्मणे तपः R (G), MBh, PP, PF, PFK.
[3] संभाव्यं स्त्रीषु चापल्य MBh, PP, PF, PFK; चापल्यं स्त्रीषु संभाव्यं R (G).
[4] संभाव्य ज्ञातितो भयं R (G), MBh, PP, PF, PFK.

13 [1] धर्ममुपश्रित्य R (G); पुरस्कृत्य HJ.
[2] प्रियाप्रिये MBh.

15 श्रूयते हि कपोतेन शत्रुः शरणमागतः ।
अर्चितश्च [1] यथान्यायं स्वैश्च मांसैर्नियन्त्रितः [2] ॥

R (Bar) n. i.; R (B) 6.18, 24; R (R) 6.18. 24-5; R (G) 5.91. 4.
MBh (Bh) 12.141, 4; MBh (R) 12.143, 4; MBh (C), 2.5462.
P (PT 3.78; PTem 3.67; PS 3.46; PN 3.37; PP 3.120: PFK 3.139 and 3.190; PD 312.187; PRE 3.64), *cf.* KṢB 16.479-80.

16 बद्धाञ्जलिपुटं दीनं याचन्तमपराधिनम् [1] ।
हन्यमानमरि दृष्ट्वा [2] रिपुणा शरणागतः [3] ॥

R (Bar) n. i., R (B) 6.18, 27; R (R) 6.18, 27-8; R (G) 5.91, 8.
Vet. 19.8.
SRHt 168.2 (attributed to MBh).

17 आर्त्तो वा यदि वा त्रस्तः [1] परेषां शरणागतः ।
अरिः [2] प्राणान् परित्यज्य रक्षितव्यः कृतात्मना ॥

R (Bar) n. i.; R (B) 6.18, 28; R (R) 6 18, 28-9, R (G) 5.91, 9.
Vet 19.9.
SRHt 168.3, IS 1022.

18 मन्त्रिरूपा हि रिपवः संभाव्यास्ते विचक्षणैः ।
ये हितं [1] नयमुत्सृज्य [2] विपरीतोपसेविनः [3] ॥

R (Bar) n. i., R (B)—; R (R)—; R (G)—; R (L) 6.41.15.
P (PT 3.82; PTem 3.71. PP 3.178 and 197, Pts 3.168, PtsK 3.208 and 230; PRE 3.70)
IS 4708.

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15 [1] पूजितश्च (अ°) MBh, PT, PS, PP, PFK, पूजितो हि PN; जीमूतेन PD.
[2] स्वमांसैश्चैव (°मैरपि PD) तर्पित· PS, PD (but PP, PN, PFK as above), मांसैश्च तर्पितः PT.

16 [1] याचन्तं (°क SRHt) शरणागतम् R (R), R (B), SRHt.
[2] न हन्यादानृशंस्यार्थम् R (R), R (B), SRHt; न हन्याच्छरणं प्राप्त Vet.
[3] अपि शत्रु परंतप R (R), R (B), SRHt, मतां धर्ममनुस्मरन् Vet

17 [1] दृप्त· R (R), R (B).
[2] अपि R (R), Vet.

18 [1] हिते PT, सन्त Pts. PtsK 3.230, सन्ति PP 3 197.
[2] वाक्यम् PtsK.
[3] सेवन्तो प्रतिलोमत. PP 3.197, Pts, PtsK 3.230.

19 चण्डालश्च दरिद्रश्च द्वावेव[1] सदृशौ मम[2]।
चण्डालस्य न गृह्णन्ति दरिद्रो न प्रयच्छति ॥
R (Bar) n. i.; R (B)—; R (R)—; R (G) 6, 62, 40.
P (PT 2.56).
VS 31.62; SR 65.6; IS 2226.
SS (OJ) 290.

20 अर्थेभ्यो हि विवृद्धेभ्यः[1] संवृत्तेभ्यस्ततस्ततः[2]।
क्रियाः सर्वाः प्रवर्तन्ते[3] पर्वतेभ्य इवापगाः[4] ॥
R (Bar.) n. i.; R (B) 6.83, 32; R (R) 6.83.32; R (G) 6.62, 29.
P (PT Anh 2.57 [3.57]; Pts. 1.6; PtsK 1.6).
SkP 155.45.
IS 618.

21 अर्थेन हि विहीनस्य[1] पुरुषस्याल्पमेधसः[2]।
प्रच्छिद्यन्ते[3] क्रियाः सर्वा[4] ग्रीष्मे कुसरितो यथा ॥
R (Bar.) n. i.: R (B) 6.83, 33; R (R) 6 83, 33; R (G) 6.62, 30.
MBh (Bh) 12.8, 18, MBh (R) 12.8, 18; MBh (C) 12.218-9.
P (PT 2.53; PS 2.30, PN 1.27, PP. 2.71, Pts. 2.85, PtsK 2.92, PRE 2.32, PM 2 30), H (H. J.) 1.133.
C (Cvr 6.10, CRr 9.13, CPs 92.26.
SR 65.7, IS 617.

22 यस्यार्थास्[1] तस्य मित्राणि यस्यार्थास्[2] तस्य बान्धवाः।
यस्यार्थाः[3] स पुमाँल्लोके[4] यस्यार्था[5] स च[6] पण्डितः[7]॥

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19 [1] द्वावेतौ PT.
[2] मतौ PT.

20 [1] ऽपि हि वृद्धेभ्यः Pts: प्रवृद्धेभ्यः PT.
[2] संभृते° R (G), MBh, SKP, संवृत्तेभ्यो (संभृ°)यतस् PT, PtsK.
[3] प्र° क्रि° स° tr. Pts, PtsK, SKP.
[4] केसरेभ्यो यथा मधु (पगाः SkP) PT, SkP.

21 [1] वियुक्तस्य R (R); वियुक्तस्य R (B).
[2] ऽल्पतेजसः (°चेतस. R (B) R (R), R (B).
[3] व्युच्छिद्यन्ते R (R), MBh; विच्छिद्यन्ते R (B), PT, PRE, Cvr, CRr.
[4] क्रियाः सर्वा विनश्यन्ति HJ.

22 [1] ऽर्थस् ŚF, CV.
[2] ऽर्था H.
[3] ऽर्था H.
[4] पुमान् लोके R (G).
[5] ऽर्थस् VC.
[6] तु or हि H, CR (Var.).
[7] बहुश्रुतः C (Var.); जीवति C (Var.); रोगिणः C (Var.).

R (Bar.) n. i.; R (P) 6.83, 35; R (R) 6.83, 35; R (G) 6.62, 32.
MBh (Bh) 12.8, 19; MBh (R) 12.8, 19; MBh (C) 12.219-20.

P (PT 2.52; PS 2.31; PN 1.28; PF 1.3; PFK 1.3; PRE 2.31; PM 1.37, H (HJ 1.134): VCsr 12.5; Śukasaptati (ŚF 25.11-26.1; ŚF 325.34-5), *cf.* KṣB 16.442.

C (CVr 7.15; Cur 6.8; CRr 4.12; CNP I 51; CNP II 76; CNI I 67; CNG 238; CNT IV 50; Cn T II 10.11. Cn T III 7.21; Cn T V 1.19; **CPS** 172.10), CP 1.111, 17.

VS 2816; Su M 4.3; SR 65.6; SRK 44.7; IS 5409.

LN (P) 167; NKy (B) 211; NM (T) 6.7; SRN (T) 49

Cf. JSAIL 24.16 and 30.80.

23 सर्वे क्षयान्ता निचयाः See No. 6.

R (Bar) n. i.; R (B) 7.52,11, R (R) 7.52, 11; R (G)—. See No. 6.

24 न सा सभा यत्र न सन्ति वृद्धा
न ते वृद्धा ये न वदन्ति धर्मम्[1] ।
नासौ धर्मो यत्र न सत्यमस्ति[2]
न तत्सत्यं[3] यच्छलेनानुविद्धम्[4] ॥

R (Bar) n. i.; R (B) 7.59 (3) 33; R (R) 7.59 (13) 33; R (G).—

MBh (Bh) 5.35, 49; MBh (R) 5.34, 59, Bh (C) 5.1239

H (HJ 3.64). *Cf* KSS 14.106, 168.

C (CRr 8.53; CNG 330; CPS 237, 44), GP 1.115, 52; Bh Ś 568; Pr C 2 129 v. l., NMS 3.18 v. l ; Maskaribhāṣya on Gautama-smṛti 220.1-2; Parāśara-dharma-saṁhitā 3.1; 35.13; Smṛticandrikā 23.14-5.

AIK 385; AP 52; ŚP 1344, SRHt 200.152; VP 9 108; IS 5483.

NM (T) 8.12.

Cf AJPh 20, 28, JSAIL 24 10; 26.12, 30 50.

Upajāti metre (Indravajrā and Upendravajrā).

25 R (Bar) *ad* 3.11, 26 (209 *); R (G) 3.18, 35; R (L) 3.16, 27.
Cf P (PP 3.137, PFK 3 159).

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24 [1] वृ° न ते° F. H, C (var.), GP, Bh Ś, Pr C, VS.
[2] धर्मः स नो य° H, C (var.), CP, BhŚ, Pr C; स° न tr. H, C (var.); चास्ति सत्यं Bh Ś, Pr C.
[3] म च तद् tr. c (Var) Bhs Pr. C.
[4] स° न तद् यत्भयमभ्युपैति H; छलदोससंयुक्तम् C (var.).

26 R (Bar) 4.29; 40; R (R) 4.30, 73, R (R) 4.30, 73; R (G) 4.30, 12-3.
MBh (Bh) 5.36, 40; MBh (R) 5.35, 42; MBh (C) 5.1301.
Cf. P (PF 3.158).

27 R (Bar.) n. i.; R (B) 5.30, 37 and 5.2, 39; R (R) 5.30, 37-8 and 5.2, 39; R (G) 5.9, 37.
Cf. P (PT 3.83; PTem 3.72; PP 3.179; PtsK 3.209; PRE 3.71).

28 R (Bar.) n i.; R (B) 6.6, 6; R (R) 6.6, 6.
Cf. P (PT 3.36; PTem 3.28; PS 3.17; PN 3.16; PRE 3.25), KSS 10.62, 16.

ŚAṄKARA'S UPADEŚASĀHASRĪ: ITS PRESENT FORM*

By

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The main works of Śaṅkara (700-750 A.D.)[1] consist of commentaries on the *Brahmasūtra*, the principal *Upaniṣads*, and the *Bhagavadgītā*.[2] In addition to these commentaries, there are the *Upadeśasāhasrī*, the *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*,[3] and many other small but independent works which are ascribed to Śaṅkara. His authorship of these minor writings is very doubtful. However, the *Upadeśasāhasrī* which I am going to take up for examination here, is genuine and I have already attempted to establish its authenticity elsewhere.[4] In my opinion it occupies an important position in the history of the *Advaita* doctrine[5].

As far as I know, 14 editions of the *Upadeśasāhasrī* have so far been published and there exist more than 70 manuscripts of the text, complete and incomplete, in and outside of India. Among these materials, I have had access to 13 printed editions and have collated 42 manuscripts. They do not show

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[1] This date is given by H Nakamura in his *Shoki no Vedānta Tetsugaku* (Tokyo, 1950), pp. 64-121 Cf D.H.H. Ingalls, 'Śamkara's Arguments against Buddhists,' *Philosophy East and West*, vol. 3 (1954), no. 4, p. 292, n. 2

[2] As for the authenticity of the *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya*, see B Faddegon, *Çamkara's Gītābhāṣya, toegelicht en beoordeeld* (Amsterdam, 1906), pp. 63-71 and pp 95-98, W. R Antarkar, 'Śrī Śaṅkarācārya's Authorship of the *Gītābhāṣya*,' *Oriental Thought*, vol. VI (1962), no. 2, pp. 1-26 , My article 'The Authenticity of the *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya* Ascribed to Śaṅkara,' *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd-und Ostasiens*, IX (1965), pp. pp 155-197

[3] It is impossible to regard the *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* as authentic since it uses some technical terms foreign to Śankara . for example, the use of the term *ananda* as the nature of *brahman-ātman* (105, 106, 107, etc.) and of *anirvacaniyarupa* as a qualification of *avidyā* (109). Cf. D. H H. Ingalls, 'The Study of Śamkarācārya, ' *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Reseatch Institute*, vol. XXXIII (1952), p. 7.

[4] My article, 'The Authenticity of the *Upadeśasāhasrī* Ascribed to Śaṅkara,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol 85 (1965) no 2, pp. 178-196

[5] M. Hiriyanna calls the *Upadeśasāhasrī*, Sureśvara's *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* and Sarvajñātman's *Saṃkṣepaśārīraka* a trilogy, which constitute an important stage in the development of the *Advaita* doctrine (*The Naiṣkarmyasiddhi of Sureśvarācārya with the Candrikā of Jñānottama*. Bombay Sanskrit and Prākrit Series No xxxvii, 1925, p. xxx).

many differences of reading but they reveal a remarkable disagreement in structure.

The 9 printed editions[6] consist of two parts, prose (*Gadyabandha*) and metrical (*Padyabandha*), and the prose part constitutes about one third of the whole text. But 3 printed editions have only the prose part and 1 printed edition contains only the metrical part.[7] Such a disagreement in structure is also seen in manuscripts and commentaries. It is a notable fact that among four commentators, Ānandajnāna and Rāmatīrtha comment on both of the two parts, clearly declaring that the (*Upadeśasāhasrī*) comprises the two parts.[9] But Bodhanidhi is totally silent about the prose part[10] and another commentator, Akhaṇḍadhāman, does not refer to the metrical part at all [11]

Furthermore, the prose part comes first and the metrical part comes second in all the printed editions and some manuscripts which contain the two parts.[12]

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[6] (1) *Śrī-Śankarāchārya's Miscellaneous Works*, vol. III (Government Oriental Library Series, Bibliotheca Sanskrita No. 21 Mysore, 1899), (2) *Śaṃkarācāryakrta-Upadeśasāhasrī* (Poona, 1911), (3) *Shrī Sankarāchārya's Upadezha-Sāharī with the Gloss Padayojanikā by Shrī Rāmatīrtha* (Bombay, 1917, (4) *Upadeśasahasrī by Bhagwat Pādāchārya with the Commentary Padayojanikā by Śrīmad Rāmatīrtha* (Bombay, 1930), (5) *A Thousand Teachings in Two Parts, Prose and Poetry, of Srī Sankarāchārya*, edited and translated by Swāmi Jagadānanda (Madras, 1949), (6) *Minor Works of Śrī Śankarācārya* (Poona Oriental Series No. 8. Poona, 1952), (7) *Prakaraṇagalu, Sampuṭi I* (Holenarasipuram, 1949), (8) *Upadeśasāhasrī, Hindi Anuvāda Sahit* (Benares, 1954), and (9) *Śrī-Śāṃkaragranthāvalih*, vol 10 (Śrirangam, no date), pp. 101-229 Besides these there is another edition in *The Pandit*, vols 3-5 (1868-1870) which has not been accessible to me.

[7] (1) Only the prose part is contained in (a) *Śrī-Śaṃkarācāryanāṃ aṣṭadaśaratno...* (Ahmedabad, 1919), pp. 669-747, (b) *Vedāntasiddhāntamatamārtaṇḍa* (Muttra, 1927) and (c) *Upadeśasāhasri* (Ahmedabad, 1931); (2) Only the metrical part is contained in: *Śrīmac-Chaṃkarācāryaviracitā-Upadeśasāhasrī, Rāmatīrthaviracitayā Padayojanikākhyayā vyākhyayā samvalitā* (Bombay, 1886).

[8] For example, (1) Both of the two parts are contained in. Adyar Library Manuscript No. PM 646, Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Manuscript No. 8635, and India Office Library (London) Manuscript Nos 2222b and 256b; (2) Only the prose part is contained in Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Manuscript Nos. 626 and 10929, Sarasvati Bhavana (Benares) Manuscript Nos. 27612 and 26997. (3) Only the metrical part is contained in Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona) Manuscript No 560/1886-92, Government Oriental Manuscript Library (Madras) Manuscript Nos R 4149 (b) and R 11795, Sarasvati Bhavana (Benares) Manuscript Nos 27708, 28685 and 27574.

[9] (1) Ānandajñāna, *Upadeśasāhasrīvivṛti* (unpublished) and (2) Rāmatīrtha, *Padayojanikā* (published. See footnote 5). Cf. footnotes 14 and 15.

[10] Bodhanidhi, *Upadeśagranthavivarana* (alias *Upadeśaprakaraṇavivaraṇa*, *Upadeśasahasragranthavivaraṇa*) (unpublished)

[11] Akhaṇḍadhāman, *Gūḍhārthadipikā* (unpublished)

[12] The printed editions shown in footnotes 5 and manuscripts such as India Office Library (London) Manuscript No. 2222b.

In some other manuscripts, however, the order of the two parts is just the reverse.[13] In this respect the two commentators also sharply contradict each other. Ānandajñāna, who was active in the middle of the 13th century,[14] commenting first on the metrical part, evidently says at the opening of his commentary on the prose part that, having previously concluded the metrical part, Bhāṣyakāra is introducing the prose part.[15] On the other hand, Rāmatīrtha, who lived in the 17th century,[16] sets forth at the opening of both the prose and the metrical parts that Bhāṣyakāra commences the prose part first and then the metrical part.[17]

Such contradictory information about the text leads us to speculate on the original form of the text or at least on reasons why the above mentioned disagreement is seen among the materials. In order to get some answer to this problem I would like to examine the text more closely.

The metrical part of the text consists of 19 *prakaraṇas* and is composed in three different metres, mostly in *śloka*.[18] From an investigation of the metrical part the following facts may be pointed out:

(1) Each *prakaraṇa* is complete in its contents and has no close connection with any other.

(2) Benedictory stanzas appear at the opening of the first *prakaraṇa* and at the end of final *prakarana*. Nevertheless, the 17th and the 18th *prakaraṇas* also open and end with benedictory stanzas.[19]

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[13] For example, Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Manuscript No. 8635, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Manuscript No. 258 A+B/1892-95, and India Office Library (London) Manuscript No 2566.

[14] S Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. II (Cambridge, 1952), p. 192

[15] .. *padyagadyātmikā hīyam Upadeśasāhasrī, tatra padyabhāgam prāg uktavā paripāṭya parisamāpya gadyabhāgam avatārayan Bhagavān Bhāṣyakāraḥ....*, India Office Library (London) Manuscript No. 2554,

[16] S. Dasgupta, *op cit*, p. 52.

[17] The opening of the prose part of the *Padayojanikā* reads: *Bhagavām Bhāṣyakāraḥ .. Upadesasāhasrīm gadyapadyavibhāgagramtharacanyā prakaṭikurvan ādau gadyabandham ārabhamānah* The opening of its metrical part reads. *tad evaṃ sarvopaniṣadarthasārasaṃgrahaṃ gadyabandhaprabandhena saṃkṣepato yuktyopadiśya, punar apy uktam evārthajātaṃ padyabandhaprabandhena sopaskaraṃ vistarenopadesṭukāmo Bhagavām Bhagavām Bhāṣyakaraḥ*

[18] The 8th, 10th, and 19th *prakaranas*, are entirely composed in the *vaṃśastha* metre, which is also used in stanzas 41-50 of the 14th *prakarana*, in stanza 54 of the 15th *prakpraṇa*, and in stanzas 68-74 of the 16th *prakarana*. Stanza 82 of the 17th *prakaraṇa* is composed in the *sragdharā* metre. The rest of the metrical part is written in *śloka*.

[19] Several manuscripts, such as Adyar Library Manuscript Nos. 72691 and 75510, Asiatic Society (Calcutta) Manuscript No. 8635, Government Oriental Manuscript Library (Madras) Manuscript Nos. 4565, R 182, R 9979, R 16000, and R 15470, and Sarasvati Bhavana (Benares) Mannscript No. 27708, all lack stanzas 230-233 of the 18th *prakaraṇa*, of

(3) The 19 *prakaraṇas* are arranged not with respect to contents but according to the number of stanzas except in the case of the first and the last *prakaraṇas*. Except for those two each *prakaraṇa* has more stanzas than the one preceding it.[20]

(4) Every *prakaraṇa* except the 18th is mechanically named after the first one or two words of the first *pāda* of its first stanza or in some cases appears in variant readings of the title to have been so named.[21] The contents are not an important factor in giving the title.

These facts make it difficult to assume that the metrical part was all composed at one time. It seems to me that they can be best explained by supposing that each *prakaraṇa* was originally composed independently and at a different time by Śaṅkara and was edited later by a follower or followers or perhaps even by Śaṅkara himself, though this last possibility seems less likely than the first [22]

As for the prose part of the *Upadeśasāhasrī*, it consists of 3 *prakaraṇas*. Examination of it reveals the following points:

(a) The prose part, as in many other texts, opens with the word *atha* which is a particle indicating the commencement of a work, and, as in *Upaniṣads*[23] ends with a repetition of the last word: *vistaraśaḥ samīkṣitavyāni samīkṣitavyāni.*

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which stanza 233 is the benedictory stanza All these manuscripts seem to be based upon Bodhanidhi's commentary, which does not comment on these 4 stanzas. It is, however, unlikely that these four stanzas are later interpolations, since stanzas 231 and 232 are quoted in Sureśvara's Naiṣkarmyasiddhi, IV, 65 and 66 respectively.

[20] This reminds us of the way in which some Buddhist scriptures such as the *Thera-* and *Therī-gāthā* and the *Jātaka* were compiled.

[21] If all the variant readings of the titles of the 19 *prakaranas* in the , rinted editions and the manuscripts that I have so far inspected are taken into consideration, the titles may be classified in the following four groups· (1) Titles named after the first one or two words without any variant readings—the 7th, 14th, and 16th *prakaranas*, (2) Titles, the variant readings of which are all in conformity with the above principle (for example, "*prakāśa-*" and "*prakāśastha-*" *prakarana* which are different readings of the title of the 12th *prakaraṇa* beginning with the word "*prakāśastham*")—the 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 15th *prakaranas* (3) Titles, all the variant readings of which do not conform to the above principle (for example, the reading "*mūtrāśaṅka-*" *prakarana* as the title of the 5th *prakarana* is in conformity with the principle while another reading "*buddhyaparādha-*" *prakarana* of the same is not so)—the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 10th, 17th and 19th *prakaranas* (the 19th *prakaraṇa* is included here though a reading of its title is based on the 3rd and 4th words instead of the first one or two words), and (4) A title which has no variant readings and violates the above rule—the 18th *prakarana*.

[22] Because of such a mechanical way of compiling the *prakaraṇas* and of giving the title.

[23] For example, (1) The *Chāndogya Up* ends with: *na ca punar āvartate, na ca punar āvartate*, (2) The *Aitareya Up.* · *amṛtaḥ samabhavat samabhavat*, (3) *The Kauṣītaki Up.: ya evaṃ veda, ya evaṃ veda*, (4) The *Kena Up. jyeye pratitiṣṭhati pratitiṣṭhati*, and (5) The *Śvetāśvatara Up.* · *prakāśante mahātmanaḥ, prakāśante mahātmanaḥ*:

(b) The prose part is written with the specific purpose of answering a very practical and pedagogical problem, that is, how a teacher should teach the knowledge of *ātman* to a pupil.[24] In the metrical part, however, many basic problems of *Advaita* are simply expounded without any special purpose.

(c) The three *prakaraṇas* of the prose part can, in content, be regarded as illustrating respectively the stage of hearing (*śravaṇa*), the stage of thinking (*manana*) and the stage of meditation (*nididhyāsana*), [25] which constitute the three *Vedāntic* stages to attainment of final release (*mokṣa*).

(d) The entire stanza 13 of the 15th *prakaraṇa* of the metrical part is quoted in the prose part. [26]

From the above points, it is evident that the three *prakaraṇas* of the prose part are very closely related to one another and constitute a whole which is complete both in content and in form. It is very likely that the three *prakaraṇas* of the prose part were written at one time after the composition of at least the 15th *prakarana* of the metrical part and that the three *prakaranas* originally constituted a work independent from the metrical part. The prose part appears to be a handy ' Guide ' for teachers while the metrical part is, as it were, a ' Text Book ' for students.

Today there is no decisive evidence with which to dertermine when and by whom all the *prakaranas* were combined into one work. The oldest extant text with reference to the *Upadeśasāhasrī* is the *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* of Sureśvara, one of Śaṅkara's direct disciples. In its last chapter which comprises 78 stanzas, Sureśvara quotes 17 stanzas and 2 half stanzas from the 6th, 15th, 17th, and 18th *prakaraṇas* of the metrical part of the *Upadeśasāhasrī*. [27] But he does not give the title of the source of those quotations. It is, therefore, not clear whether or not the *Upadeśasāhasrī* had been compiled by the time when he composed the *Naiṣkrmyasiddhi*

The second oldest text that is concerned with the *Upadeśasāhasrī* is the *Gītābhāṣya* of Bhāskara (750-800 A.D.). [28] Here Bhāskara quotes stanza 222 of the 18th *prakaraṇa* of the *Upadeśasāhasrī* and calls the source of quotation

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[24] Cf. the opening of the prose part which reads · *atha mokṣasādhanopadeśavidhiṃ vyākhyāsyāmo mumukṣūnāṃ śraddadhānānām arthinām arthāya*

[25] Cf. Paul Hacker, *Upadeshasāhasrī von Meister Shankara* (Religions-geschichtliche Texte Heft 2. Bonn, 1949), pp. 8-9.

[26] Section 35 of the first *prakaraṇa*

[27] Cf. my article, ' The Authenticity of the *Upadeśasāhasrī*, ' *op cit*, pp. 188-190.

[28] This date is given by H. Nakamura *op. cit.*, pp. 88-90.

'*Upadeśa Grantha*'[29] The word '*Grantha*' does not seem to be a part of the title of his source, since the two words are not used as a compound. They may, therefore, mean 'The text entitled *Upadeśa*.' As far as I have investigated the matter, the 18th *prakaraṇa* is styled '*Tattvamasiprakarana*' in all the materials without exception[30] and is never called '*Upadeśa*.' It is, therefore, very probable that by the designation '*Upadeśa*' Bhāskara means the text which is today called '*Upadeśasāhasrī*' or at least its metrical part, the work of compiling at least its metrical part must have already been completed by the time of Bhāskara

Of all the materials that have been available to me, Ānandajñāna's commentary is the oldest that calls the text '*Upadeśasāhasrī*,'[31] describing it as consisting of the two parts. The title '*Upadeśasāhasrī*' suggests that the text consists of a thousand stanzas. The metrical part of the *Upadeśasāhasrī* comprises a total of only 675 stanzas.[32] But if 32 syllables can be counted as 1 stanza (*śloka*), the prose part consists of 376 stanzas.[33] The text can, therefore, be regarded as comprising a total of 1,051 stanzas It is, however, not possible to conclude from the above facts that Ānandajñāna himself combined the prose part with the metrical part and gave the combination the title '*Upadeśasāhasrī*,' since the title '*Upadeśa*' used by Bhāskara may be an abridged form of the title '*Upadeśasāhasrī*' and the title '*Upadeśa*' itself does not imply exclusion of the prose part.

As for the order of the two parts, it is more natural and reasonable to place the metrical part first as in Ānandajñāna's commentary than to place the prose part first as in Rāmatīrtha's commentary, since the prose part contains a quotation from the metrical part. But Ānandajñāna's commentary has not yet been published The only published commentary is Rāmatīrtha's *Padayojanikā* At present it appears to be customary to place the prose part first as does Rāmatīrtha

[29] Sarasvatī Bhavana (Benares) Manuscript No 2517, folio 37 Cf my articles, 'The Authenticity of the *Upadeśasāhasrī*, *op cit* pp 190 191 and 'The Authenticity of the *Bhagavadgītābhāṣya*,' *op. cit*, p 189

[30] See footnote 21.

[31] See footnote 14 Jñānottama's *Candrikā*, which is a commentary on Sureśvara's *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, is the second oldest source that calls the text '*Upadeśasāhasrī*' provided Jñānottama lived in 1300 A.D. as Hiriyanna says (*The Naiṣkarmyasiddhi of Sureśvarācārya*, *op cit*, pp. xxxii-xxxvi) Vidyāranya, who was active in the 14th century, in his *Pañcadaśī* (VIII, 12), refers to the text under the name of '*Sahasrī*,' which is identified with the *Upadeśasāhari* by its commentator, Rāmakrṣna. The title '*Śrīsahasrī*' is used by Akhaṇḍadhāman in his *Gūḍhārthadīpikā*, the date of which is unknown The longest title of the text is '*Sakalavedopaniṣatsāropadeśasāhasrī*' appearing in colophons of manuscripts and printed editions of the text

[32] In some manuscripts, the text consists of 671 stanzas See footnote 18

[33] Cf. Paul Hacker, *Upadeshasāhasrī*, *op cit*, p 86, n. 2.

JÑĀNA, PRAJÑĀ, PRAJÑĀPĀRAMITĀ

By

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Generally speaking, knowledge refers to the analysis of an object, and such knowledge we can call objective knowledge. This type of knowledge can be accumulated. It cannot, however, be termed Buddhist knowledge as far as it concerns objective analysis.

Even in our daily life we sometimes make a distinction between scientific knowledge and religious knowledge (wisdom). If one possesses scientific knowledge, it does not mean that he has wisdom. We are aware of our respect for wisdom more than for objective, scientific knowledge. Buddhism prefers wisdom based on religious intuition more than accumulated scientific knowledge.

Wisdom in the Buddhist sense is divided into two councepts: transcendental knowledge (*ñāna*) and the knowledge-to exercised *paññā*. The study of these two concepts is an intricate and intriguing problem in the history of Buddhism. Almost all scholars today use these terms in the same meaning as intuition or insight, etc. According to their views, both concepts denote mysterious faculties, just as intuition is a transcendental knowledge. Without understanding the slightly different meanings of these concepts, however, the interpretation of intuition will easily give birth to confusion among their views.

It appears, therefore, that the key to understanding the true meaning of intuition is to define these concepts in their historically different periods and theoretically varied meaning. In the history of Buddhist thought the following periods can be taken into consideration The Early (Nikāya) Buddhism (ca. 431–271 B.C.), Abhidharma (ca 271 B.C.–I A.D.) and the Early Mahāyāna Buddhism (ca. 100 A D.).

By taking particularly the development of the Abhidharma theories into consideration, we shall find a more deeply underlying relation between the two concepts. Concerning the importance of the Abhidharmic background, somewhat neglected in the research field, with respect to the Buddhist intuition, little need be said here.

The Early Buddhism

Ñāna and *Paññā* are not distinctively differentiated from each other. *Ñāna* means just knowledge "in either a next to hand or a lofty sense." On the other hand, *paññā*, as Mrs. Rhys Davids pointed out, is not a mere intellectual "convultion" of thought. It represents, "coming-to-know" and "coming-to-

be". *Paññā* is not a dialectic or desultory referie, but an exercise of thought on matter of practice. The Rhys Davids's distinction between both concepts appears rather to rest upon the Abhidharmic interpretation than upon the Nikāya view. The distinction is not really found in the Nikāyas. However, her detailed investigation of *paññā* is suggestive enough to lead to further development of Abhidharma study. *Paññā* is not mere insight or intuition, but conduct accompanied by insight; it is a term of practical import.[1]

Based upon the implication of *paññā* in the Nikāya we shall especially examine the Abhidharma interpretation in connection with the Nikāya.

The Abhidharma Philosophy

In this Abhidharma period we may find a multi-polar distinction between *ñāna* and *paññā*. Here I would like to confine my discussion of the schools to only two as follows.

The Theravāda School

Both concepts, *paññā* and *ñāna*, are derived from the same root *jñā*, 'to know'. The prefix *pa* indicates 'forward', 'forth', 'fore', and it is a dynamic particle. This particle implies in itself the dynamic practicality. In relation to *viññāna* (consciousness) Rhys Davide refers to this dynamic connotation by saying it means 'coming-to-be'

In early Buddhism, however, this distinction was not so clear, as sometimes both terms were used as synonymous Such lack of clarity stimulated the Abhidharma schools to give specific definitions to these terms.

The dynamic implication of *paññā* can evidently be found in the Mahāvedalla Sutta (M 43), where *paññā* is considered as the knowledge to be practised (*bhāvetabbā*). *Paññā* does not merely mean the final goal to be reached.

This implication came to be clarified in the Abhidharma period. In Pāli Abhidharma, *paññā* came to mean the subject's knowing (*pajāna*). In contrast, *ñāna* came to mean the object to be known (*ñāta*). Thus, *ñāna* is the object, while *paññā* belongs to the subject. The endeavour to obtain *ñāna* presupposes *paññā* In other words, *paññā* has a broader sense than *ñāṇa* This latter understanding will become clearer in the Sarvāstivāda school.

In the Pāli text, Atthasālini (ca. the fifth cent. A D.) designates *ñāṇa* as product or result, and *paññā* as the way to gain a product. The Atthasālinā, 3,29;3.30,[2] discusses the problem of the wholesome (*kusala*), referring to both *ñāṇa* and *paññā*. This passage discusses at first about three meanings of *kusala*.

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[1] C A.F. Rhys Davids, *The Birth of Indian Psychology and its Development in Buddhism*. London · Luzac and Co, 1936, p 265.

[2] Buddhaghosa, *Atthasālini* ed. by P. V Bapat, Bhandarkar Oriental Series, No. 3, Poona . 1942.

According to this passage the wholesome (*kusala*) has three meanings : the non-ill (*ārogya*), non-sinful (*nāvajja*) and the skilfully completed (*kosalla-sambhūta*).

Ñāna is called the wholesome because it includes all three meanings, while *Paññā* is also called the wholesome because it means 'the skillfully completed'. This term denotes the way to the final goal or the result to be attained. On the other hand, non-ill and non-sinful, are merely attributes of *ñāṇa* to be attained by means of one's own practice. When the way is 'skillfully completed', then, these attributes spontaneously will arise They are the products of the practical way.

In terms of the practicality of *Paññā* we have another passage in the same text. "*paññā* is the superior, fundamental and foregoer." (Asl., 3.44.). Practice denotes a forward movement, which is expressed in its synonymous use with *pajānana* '(to know)'. This distinction between the static and dynamic becomes more lucid during the commentarial period.

According to the commentary on Vibhanga, Sammohavinodanī, *paññā* operates by virtue of function (*kicca*) and object (*ārammana*) while *ñāṇa* has for its object *dhamma* [3] It means that in order to operate *paññā* must first have action on the subjective side and the object on the objective side With the object alone, *paññā* cannot work at all as it requires action (*kicca*) on the subjective side. *Ñāna* consists in the object to be known and practised by *paññā*. Thus, *ñāna* is considered as the static product and ideal to be obtained while *paññā* is subjective, dynamic and functional

The commentator Buddhaghosa is aware of this distinction as he compared *paññā* with *saññā* (notion) and *viññāṇa* (consciousness) In his view, *saññā* refers to the perception of a colourful object, while *viññāna* means the perception of a multitude of appearances. These two terms concern the analytical perception of the object On the other hand, *paññā* means to distinctively know (*pajānana*) the religious significance of the object. Buddhaghosa explained also in the Atthasalini in the following manner

Paññā has two meanings: to make known or to indicate (*paññāpana*) and to know the object from the viewpoint of impermanency, suffering and non-ego [4]

Referring to this explanation, Buddhaghosa gave further two etymological interpretations of *paññā*: *paññāpana* (to make known) and *pakārena jānāti* (to know from the viewpoint of impermanency, suffering and non-ego. These two types of meanings are related to each other and refer to the same fact, namely, that by virtue of *paññā* the nature of existing things will be made clearly known.

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[3] *Sammohavinodanī*, PTS, p 416

[4] *Atthasālinī*, p 100.

This understanding of *paññā* as practicality, verified for us by the etymological significance of the term, may be regarded as the philosophical principle underlying the essence of human existence.

The essence of human existence also will be clearly made known by virtue of *paññā* as it is exemplified in one of the Pāli treatises, *i e.*, Puggalapaññatti. The title of this treatise literally represents 'the indication of types of human existence' However, indication (*paññatti*) is etymologically derived from the root *jñā* (to know) and *paññatti* means 'to make known' or 'to indicate' (*ñāpana*). This explanation exactly corresponds to the etymological significance of *paññā* as pointed out above. This treatise analyses in fact the variety of types of human existences from the religious standpoint in compliance with their state of meditation. It is really the indication of different types of people in accordance with their stage of spiritual knowledge of *paññā*. Indication (*paññatti*) concerns the different religious practices or experiences. Thus, the Pāli treatise Puggalapaññatti may be regarded as the indication of different types of human existence based upon their own spiritual knowledge to be exercised This basic notion has already been referred to since the time of Early Buddhism, in which *paññā* implied the functional knowledge to be exercised This title of Puggalapaññatti is doubtless viewed in the way of early Buddhist time, depending upon the degree of spiritual development of the practitioners

So far as *paññatti* refers to 'making known one's own character to others', Puggalapaññatti represents itself the treatise in which persons are variegated and classified in compliance with their own nature of making themselves known to others. Hence, the criterion of classification in this text is nothing but *paññā* itself

This notion of *paññā* further brings up another question of the relationship between *paññā* and *ñāna*. In terms of spiritual exercise, the important thing is not merely the ideal or result, but rather the way to approach the ideal. In this respect, *ñāna* designated as only a static consequence, will be of significance only when it is considered in relation to the functional *paññā*. The ideal must be achieved by the practical : *ñāna* must be achieved by *paññā*. Ñana is assimilated in *paññā*. In this context, Buddhaghosa refers to the assimilation of *ñāṇa* by *paññā* in the Visuddhimagga.[6] He gave *paññā* three categories: basis (*bhūmi*), faculty (*indriya*) and essence (*sāra*). *Ñāṇa* is here subject to the category of essence. The ideal, namely, *ñāna*, is included in the practical knowledge (*paññā*) or the knowledge to be exercised. Whether the achievement of the ideal is realized or not rests on the ability of the practitioner. *Ñāna* can be obtained only by *paññā* which is to be cultivated by human beings.

[6] Buddhaghosa, *Visuddhimagga*, p. 443. PTS

This distinction between the two concepts is also found in the Visuddhimagga, which is systematized on the basis of this distinction. Referring to the practice of *ñāna* the Visuddhimagga analyses *ñāṇa* into the following three classifications: stage of consciousness (*bhūmi*), basis (*mūla*) and actual (*sarīra*). These three are considered fundamental conditions for the practice of *paññā*.

1. Stage of consciousness (*bhūmi*) includes *khandha*, *āyatana*, *dhātu*, *indriya*, *sacca*, *paṭiccasamuppāda*, etc. All these concepts denote the fundamental theories of Buddhism concerning human beings, truth, dependent origination respectively A commentator Dhammapāla, commenting on the term '*bhūmi*', refers to these different types of theories. which are practised in conformity with the different stages of consciousness, *i.e.*, the theory of *khandha* (the five aggregates) is the practice for those people ignorant of human existence (*rūpa*), that of *āyatana* (sphere) for those people ignorant of material (*rūparūpa*) and that of *dhātu* (realm) for those ignorant of both the human existence and the material. In this manner the stage of consciousness depends upon the different types of human beings. [6] This state is explained by Dhammapāla as a functional stage (*pavaṭṭiṭṭhāna*). [7] It is not a static object, but a dynamic process of human consciousness to be cultivated. This functional stage represents the nature of *paññā* as described above Therefore this stage means one of the three aspects of *paññā*

2 Basis (*mūla*) means a fundamental ground upon which *nibbāna* will be attained Both Dhammapāla and Buddhaghosa gave it a synonym *patiṭṭhāna*, meaning a fundamental basis (Dhammapāla, Praramatthamañjusā III p. 19) Basis includes precept (*sīla*) and mind (*citta*). It means that both precept and mind or concentration are the fundamental elements for the practice of *paññā* In other words, *paññā* is considered as one of the three fundamentals to be practised for the attainment of the final goal, namely, the enlightenment.

3 Actual (*sarīra*) means the quality which anything possesses of having realized possibilities The dynamic process of consciousness (*paññā*) is used in reference to a state of possibility rather than actuality (*sarīra*) In the Visuddhimagga, therefore, actual (*sarīra*) includes the five kinds of *ñāna* The five are:

(a) Beauty of right theory (*diṭṭhivisuddhi*)

(b) Complete purification in consequence of the removal of doubt (*kankhāvitaranavisuddhi*).

(c) Actual knowledge concerning the right and the wrong road (*maggāmaggañānadassana*)

(d) Actual knowledge of the practice (*paṭipadāñānadassana-visuddhi*)

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[6] Dhammapāla, *Paramatthamañjusā* Siamese Edition, Vol. III, p 19.

[7] "*bhūmi salakkhanādiggahanavasena pavattiṭṭhānabhāvato*" (Ibid., p. 18).

e. Actual knowledge (*ñānadassanavisuddhi*).

It is noticeable that the term *sarira*, denoting *ñāṇa*, is used as a consequence or a product of the practical knowledge (*paññā*). *Ñāṇa* is a quality, to which no temporal, possible position can be assigned. It is the absolute goal to be attained by practical knowledge.

This *ñāṇa* as a consequence is, according to Dhammapāla, termed 'quality' (*avayava*) or 'multitude' (*samudāya*), while *paññā* (the practical knowledge) is designated as a practice to be cultivated (*paribrūhetabba*) or as a practice continuously functioned (*santānavasena pavattamāna*).[8]

Regarding this distinction we have another definition in the commentaries. The Pāli commentators used to give definitions to each psychic function from the four aspects[9]

1. Characteristic (*lakkhana*) is to penetrate into the true nature of state.

2. Function (*rasa*) is to dispel the darkness of bewilderment which covers the true nature of states.

3. Manifestation (*paccupaṭṭhāna*) is not to be bewildered.

4. Proximate cause (*padaṭṭhāna*) means concentration, because of the statement: "A brother, who is concentrated Oh Brethren, knows a thing as it really is." (S v 414)

Referring to *ñāna* the Visuddhimagga explains as follows "*Ñāna* means insight-knowledge (*vipassanā-ñāna*). It is said that in him who weighs, scrutinizes the states of matter and of non-matter there arises *ñāṇa* of unfaltering speed, sharp, heroic, exceeding clear like Indra's discharged thunderbolt "[10]

The Atthasālinī[11] presents a slightly different definition. *Paññu* has illuminating (*obhāsana*) and understanding (*pajānana*) as characteristic (*lakkhaṇa*).

Regarding 'illuminating' the Elder's saying is expanded .

" Hence, the Elder has said : Just as when a man, your majesty, introduces an oil-lamp into a dark house, the lamp so introduced disperses the darkness, produces light, sheds lustre, makes objects visible, so, your majesty, *paññā* as it arises dispels the darkness of ignorance, produces the light of understanding (*vijjā*), sheds the lustre of *ñāṇa*, makes plain the Ariyan Facts Thus, your majesty, *paññā* has illuminating as its characteristic. "

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[8] " *Śarīram paribrūhetabbato imissā hi paññāya santānavasena pavattamānāya pādapānisīlaṭṭhāniyā diṭṭhivisuddhi-ādikā imā pañca visuddhiyo avayavena samudāyupalakkhananayena sarīranti veditabbā.* " (Ibid., p. 19)

[9] *Visuddhimagga*. p. 438.

[10] Ibid., p. 635.

[11] *Atthasālini*. p. 101.

In terms of 'understanding' (*pajānana*) the Elder further explains thus:

"And this was said by the Dhammasenāpati (Sāriputta): 'It knows; thus, brother, it is in consequence called *paññā*. And what does it know? This is ill,' and so on. Thus it should be expanded. And thus knowing should be regarded as the characteristic of *paññā*."

This explanation includes in itself the three aspects of *paññā* designated in the Visuddhimagga: its characteristic is 'illuminating', its function is to disperse the darkness, and its manifestation is to shed the lustre of *ñāna* or to produce the light of understanding (*vijjā*). In this passage, we can notice that *ñāṇa* is considered analogous to something to be shed or to be produced. Namely, *ñāṇa* is considered as a consequence of *paññā*, which is to produce the former.

The practicability of *paññā* is illustrated by Buddhaghosa in a skillful simile which refers to the distinction between *paññā* and *viññāna*. Buddhaghosa applies a simile to this distinction in his Visuddhimagga as follows:

"Because it seizes just the appearance of an object as blue-green and so forth, *saññā* (perception) is like the seeing of the coins by the undiscerning child. Because it seizes the appearance of the object as blue-green and so forth, and also leads to penetration of the characteristics, *viññāna* (consciousness) is like the seeing of the coins by the peasant. Because it seizes the appearance of the object as blue-green and so forth, leads to the manifestation of the Path (*maggapātubhāva*), *paññā* (apprehension) is like the seeing of the coins by the banker. Therefore, this *paññā* is to be understood as the knowing in various ways as distinct from perceiving and being conscious." [12]

Thus, *paññā* is different from *viññāna* not only in its epistemological approach, but also in its practical sense. The former, going beyond the realm of perception, leads one to the manifestation of the Path to Enlightenment.

Circumstantial evidences point out that the distinction between *paññā* and *ñāna* in the Early Buddhism probably had a long existence underground, before, in the Theravāda school, it rose, as *paññā* 'the subject's knowing' and *ñāna* 'the object to be known' to the surface. Probably both meanings were in the Abhidharma period fully developed.

The Sarvāstivāda School

The Early Buddhism and the Theravāda school, as mentioned above, regard *ñāna* as a consequence and *paññā* as a means. This distinction is found also in the Sarvāstivāda school.

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[12] *Visuddhimagga*, p 437; Pe Maung Tin, *The Path of Purity* London PTS, 1931, pt III p 506-5-07

According to the Abhidharmakośa and its commentary, Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā by Haribhadra these two concepts are dealt with in the following manners.

1. *Jñāna and Prajñā as related to Psychology*

From the psychological viewpoint, *prajñā* (apprehension) is subject to the common stage of consciousness (*mahābhūmi*) Apprehension (*prajña*) in this sense is only treated as a psychic factor. Therefore, this concept is even used synonymously with a Sanskrit *mati* (view) as a psychic factor

It is to be noted that even in this sense *prajñā* does not lose its spiritual meaning of apprehension to be exercised. This concept here means ' to investigate' (*pravicaya*) the true nature of a thing investigation concerns the psychological function of analyzing the realities (dharma), which is a means leading to the final goal of *nirvāna*

Hence, this analytical apprehension is not purely scientific knowledge but rather a practical means to attain *nirvāna* and as such participates in religious experience In other words, *prajñā* is immanent and refers to the way to be cultivated, while *jñāna* is transcendental and a consequence or a result to be attained

2 *Jñāna and Prajñā from the Viewpoint of Value*

The Abhidharmakośa deals with both concepts in the two chapters, Pudgalanirdeśah and Jñānanirdeśah The former chapter deals with *prajñā* from the standpoint of psychology, the latter from the standpoint of practice

According to the Jñānanirdesa, the realization of *prajñā* consists of four kinds of apprehension; hearing (*śrutamayī*), thinking (*cintamayī*), exercise (*bhāvanāmayī*) and inherence (*utpāda*). These apprehensions (*prajñā*) are termed ' defilement apprehension ' (*sāśrava prajñā*), which observes the created and the noncreated These are in contrast to ' non-defilement apprehension' (*anāśrava prajñā*), which observes the truth of the three worlds and the four noble truths

It is noticeable that three of them are repeatedly explained in the Abhidharmakośa, while ' inherence apprehension ' is only found once in the first chapter of the Abhidharmakośa Moreover, there is no mention of any form of ' inherence apprehension' by the commentator Yaśomitra ' Inherence' is not mentioned in the Pāli Abhidhamma texts at all

We might question why ' inherence ' is neglected and what is the relationship between ' inherence ' and other three apprehensions ?

It is due to the characteristic of the Sarvāstivāda school in dealing with *prajñā*. *Prajñā* is dealt with in both its psychological and religious aspects. ' Inherence ' (*utpāda prajñā*) is *prajñā* to be inherently obtained. This type of *prajñā* is considered as inherent or a priori from the psychological viewpoint.

The other three, however, concern religious practice; *śrutamayī prajñā* means the apprehension produced by hearing, *cintamayī prajñā* is produced by thinking of the truth, and *bhāvanāmayī* prajñā is produced by exercise.[13] Thus, these three *prajñā* concern only the apprehension a posteriori to be cultivated and exercised.

For this reason the Abhidharmakośa divided first *prajñā* into four forms in the chapter of Jñānanirdeśa and later only the three forms are discussed in detail, excluding 'inherence' (*utpāda prajñā*) for it represents merely a psychological function. To the Yogācārins the important thing is the religious practice, which alone depends upon the religious attitude of the practitioner

In the Theravāda school, as we have seen, *ñāna* and *paññā* take a different position: the former is a consequence, while the latter the exercise-to-be-developed. This distinction is also retained in the Sarvāstivāda school. In this school, however, the relationship between both become closer and intertwined. In other words, *jñāna* in this school is considered as one of the qualities of the dynamic and functional *prajñā* being thus assimilated by and intertwined with *prajñā*. The diagram appearing on p. 267 attempts to clarify the interrelationship between both.

As for the three features the Sarvāstivādin suggests the following connotations *Kṣānti* means recognition (of the fourfold noble truth) which functions to eliminate defilement. *Kṣānti* does not mean here 'forbearance' or 'endurance' for the following reasons.

The Sanskrit term *kṣānti*, derived from the root *kṣam* ('to endure'), has the two aspects involved: endurance and acceptance ('willing to'). The former meaning is always described as the opposite of *dveṣa* (hatred), *pratigha* (repugnance), *krodha* (anger) and *vyāpāda* (malice)[14] It is this fundamental meaning that is employed in *kṣānti-pāramitā*, one of the ten *pāramitās* popularized in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

But it is also used in another subsidiary sense 'willing to' (acceptance) of the truth in a positive way. A Mahāyāna text, Lankāvatāra-sūtra, for instance, mentions about the great powers of a *bodhisattva*, who acquires *anutpattikadharmakṣānti*. This form of *kṣānti*, however, does not mean 'endurance' in a negative way, instead, it points out simply that existence as a whole is beyond all predicable attributes, and no definition whatsoever is, therefore, possible, and all that we can designate of it is voidness or unbornness in view of the ultimate truth. The sense of *kṣānti* in this respect should mean the

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[13] Yaśomitra, *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*. ed. by Wogihara, Tokyo 1932-1936, p. 8.

[14] *Atthasālinī*. pp 122-123, G. H. Sasaki, *A Study of Buddhist Psychology* Tokyo. Nippon Gakujutsu Shinkokai, 1960, p. 308-401.

Prajñā
three
features
1. kṣānti
2. jñāna
3. dṛṣṭi
sāśravaprajñā
samvṛtajñāna
1. upapattiprātilambhika°
2. śrutamayī
3. cintamayī°
4. bhāvanāmayī°
anāśravaprajñā
dharmajñāna
anvaya°
duḥkhajñana 4
anitya, duḥkha
śūnya, anātmaka
samudaya° 4
hetu, samudaya
prabha, pratyaya
nirodha° 4
nirodha, śānta
pranīta, niḥśaraṇa
mārga° 4
mārga, nyāya
pratipad, nāiryānika
duḥkha° 4
anitya, duḥkha
śūnya, anātmaka
samudaya° 4
hetu, samudaya
prahana, pratyaya
nirodha° 4
nirodha, śānta
pranīta, niḥśarana
mārga° 4
mārga, nyāya
pratipad, nāiryānika
16
ākāra
16
ākāra
32
ākāra
kśaya
jñāna
anutpāda
jñāna
10
jñāna

positive mental disposition or a willing acceptance of the truth. The Chinese translation 'jen' for *kṣānti* is sometimes taken for 'ti nien' (recognition); but, the implication of this form of *kṣānti*, going a step further, is a positive acceptance of the Buddhist truth or a willing inclination to the ultimate truth. In other words, it denotes the mental state capable of the willing acceptance of all things existing through the denial. As for the Pāli *khānti* (Skt. *kṣānti*) we have once discussed in detail.[15] The Pāli *khānti* is also considered as derived from the two roots, *kṣam* ('to endure') and *kam* ('to be willing to')

With this basis, we take the word *kṣānti*, one of the three features of *prajñā*, as 'acceptance' or 'willing to'. If so, there should be no difficulty in the Yaśomitra's interpretation. According to Yaśomitra the functions of *prajñā* consist of three types: *kṣānti* *jñāna* and *dṛṣṭi*, which correspond to *upanidhyāna*, *niścitam* and *saṃtīraṇa* in order. *Prajñā* performs its function as acceptance of the truth (*upanidhyāna*) at the first stage, as the decision (*niścitam*) as the second, and as the investigation (*saṃtīraṇa*) as the last one. It is noticeable that these three kinds of functions have a connecting link between each other, representing the stepping-forward of *prajñā* in function from acceptance to decision or *kṣānti* to *saṃtīraṇa*.

The second feature of *prajña*, namely, *prajñā* equalized with *jñāna*, means decision (*niścitam*), which refers to the realization of the truth. It is an object to be cultivated, and still it is assimilated by and included in the functions of *prajñā*. In the Theravāda school *ñāṇa* is also described as *ñāta* (the object to be known), and as the final goal to be reached. But the relationship between *ñāṇa* and *paññā* is not so explicitely described as in the Sarvāstivāda school. A connecting link between *kṣānti*, *jñāna* and *dṛṣṭi* is not represented in the Theravāda school.

The third feature of *prajñā* demonstrates the dynamic exercise of the truth by *prajñā*. In this respect, *prajñā* is viewed as a religious factor which differs from the psychological function. As a psychological factor it is subject to the mental factors (*caitasikā*). On the other hand, as a religious factor it refers to the functional and dynamic religious exercise. This diagram also shows how *prajñā* assimilates its product (*jñāna*), retaining thereby its original meaning as 'exercise to be developed' or 'knowledge to be cultivated'.

The Theravāda school, as we have mentioned before, distinguishes between both *prajñā* and *jñāna*. But this school does not attempt a combination of the two concepts. The Sarvāstivādin, however, attempts a combination and

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[15] Yaśomitra, AKV, p. 629: "*vesa-varna-lope esa kite akāra iti rupam bhavati.*" As for *kṣānti*, see G. H. Sasaki, "The Historical Evolution of the Concept of Negation: nekkhamma and naiskramya", *Journal of the American Society, Volume 83, Number 4, Sept-Dec* 1963, p. 478, note 1

formulates the philosophy of *ākāra* (model form), by which *prajñā* and *jñāna* come into unity.

The Sarvāstivādin lays stress on the concept of *ākāra* and the combination of the two concepts. The diagram as illustrated above, will clarify the combination of the two concepts.

Dharmajñāna, as enumerated in the diagram, is a product of *prajñā*, observing the fourfold noble truth bounded by this material world, while *anvayajñāna* is a product of *prajñā*, observing the fourfold noble truth in the immaterial, spiritual world. This diagram shows how the knowledge-to-be-cultivated (*prajñā*) is combined and unified with its product (*jñāna*) This unification is termed *ākāra* (model form).

The term *ākāra* means 'appearance', 'sign', 'mode', 'form', etc. *Ākāra* in an Abhidharmic sense does not simply mean a phenomenal appearance that will disappear with the object. This term refers to something that will remain even after the disappearance of the object.

According to Yasomitra a concept of *ākāra* means a type of form (*rūpa*) which remains after the disappearance of the object.[16] It might be interesting to note that the Theravādin also employs the same term with the same meaning. In Pāli this term is used in opposition to *rūpa-rūpa* meaning matter as matter. *Ākāra* in Pāli references also means the thing which remains after the object disappears.

This model form (*ākāra*) represents the mental disposition in which *prajñā* and *jñāna* come into unity. In other words, *prajñā* denotes the essential nature of *ākāra* and the basis of jñāna Yasomitra states that "the essence of *ākāra* is *prajñā*."[17] Moreover, the four kinds of *jñāna* (*duhkha*, *samudaya*, *nirodha*, *mārga*) are based upon *prajñā*. as it is demonstrated in the diagram. Thus, *ākāra* is a model form, in which *prajñā* and *jñāna* come into unity *Ākāra* consists of these two counterparts.

An adequate comprehension of the Sarvāstivāda tradition will suffice to show us that *prajñā* includes both functions, psychological and philosophical. It is a psychological function. when *prajñā* is taken as a knowledge to determine (*pravicaya*) the characteristics of *dharma* One must first of all understand what a *dharma* is and what the world is as distinct from a thing or a person, as it is stated in the Abhidharmakośa[18]

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[16] *Visuddhimagga-Mahātthakathā*. Ceylonese Edition, p. 448, Cf also to *A Pali Critical Dictionary*, Vol II I pp 4-8, Copenhagen 1960

[17] Yaśomitra, *Abhidharmakośa* **26**, Taisho Edition, 29, 137 c

[18] *Ibid*. Regarding a psychological function, i.e, determination (*pravicaya*) Yaśomitra comments, "*dharmapravicaya iti. pravicinotīti pravicayaḥ praviciyante vā anena dharmā iti*

On the other hand, it is a philosophical function, when *prajñā* is taken as a knowledge to be exercised. In this context *jñāna* is the last goal to be obtained by *prajñā*. *Prajñā* is the way by which a consequence (*jñāna*) will be obtained. It has a wider perspective in its nature than the psychological factors, namely, mind (*citta*) and mental properties (*cetasikā*). The Sarvāstivādin says, "The difference between *prajñā* and the mental factors lies in the fact that the essence differ in their width of perspective." *Prajñā* includes the active and the passive functions as well as the model form (*ākāra*),[19] while the mental factors include simply the former two functions, excluding the last, *i.e.*, the model form This means that *prajña* in a philosophical sense represents a knowledge to be cultivated, going beyond a simply psychological function It is a means by which one can remove defilements and reach the final goal The Mahāsanghika school, preceding Mahāyāna Buddhism, defines this concept as a means to remove defilements. "*Prajña* is a means (*prayoga*) for removing the sufferings of the sentient beings, giving them the spiritual pleasures." (I-pu-tsun-lun-lun by Vasumitra, Chapt. II. 36 b) This notion has been developed into the Mahāyānist philosophy.

Mahāyāna-Buddhism

With the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism the concept of *prajñā* has come to light.[20] Its original meaning 'the knowledge to be exercised', has

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pravicayah yena samkīrnā iva dharmāh puṣpāniva pravicīyante uccīyanta ity arthah Ime s'asrava ime 'anāsravāh. ime rūpinah ime'rūpina iti Dharmānām pravicayah dharmapravicayāh pratītatvāt prajñāti vaktavye sloka-bandh'anugunyena matir iti kārikāvām uktam. (AKV, p. 127)

[19] Yasomitra, clarifying the definition of *prajnā* as *sākāra*, introduces in his work the Sautrantika's view "*ālambana-grahana-prakāra ākāra iti nairuktā vidhir iti darsayati ālambana sabdād ākāram grhītvā prakāra-śabdāc ca kāra-subdam śesavarna-lope ca ākāra iti rupam bhavati. tad evam sati prajñā'pi śākārā bhavatīti siddham*" (AKV, p 629)

[20] There have been various linguistic approaches to the term '*prajñāpāramitā* among the scholars, ancient and modern Haribhadra interprets this term in his Abhisamayālamkār'-ālokāvyākhyā as a compound '*pāramit-tā*', meaning thereby 'to get to the other shore (of this life).' Such scholars as Böthlingk, Burnouf, M. Vassilief seem to take this view. The Tibetan equivalent 'pha-rol-tu-phyin-pa' also follows this wrong interpretation. On the other hand, such scholars as F W Thomas, T. W. Rhys Davids, W. Stede, H. Dayal, seem to confirm the view that *pāramitā* is derived from *pāra*, meaning simply 'highest condition, highest point'. (Cf H. Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine* London. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., LTD. 1952, p 166). The forms *pārami* and *pāramitā* are found in Pāli, i.e., in the Suttanipāta, the Nettipakarana and the jātaka and others, as Dayal mentions in his work. Dayal also remarks further, "The earlier and alternative form *pārami* also points to the derivation from *parama* The suffix *tā* was probably added to it on the analogy of the abstract sustantives ending in *ta*." He did not mention about the phonetic change of *ī* (a long vowel) into *i* (a short vowel), i. e, pāramitā (*īta* to *ita*). A long vowel *ī* preceding the consonant is as a rule changed to *i*. We have, in this context, the example of *pāramipatta* found in such various Pāli texts as

come into focus with the basis of the Bodhisattva idea, which emphasises the human activities.

The ideal of the Bodhisattva in Mahāyāna Buddhism, in the light of the history, encouraged altruism and universal compassion. Real participation in its higher stage is in Mahāyāna Buddhism increasingly open to the layman. Thus the path of the Bodhisattva is substituted for that of the self-centredness and lack of universal compassion in the Hīnayāna schools. No longer is Buddhism primarily the faith of monks and nuns The Mahāyānist experience provided the basis for the identification of the Buddha with ultimate reality (*prajñāpāramitā*). Moreover, the quest for that *prajñāpāramitā* experience is identical with the quest for Buddhahood (*Buddhatva*). *Prajñāpāramitā* represents in this context the devotee's recognition of his own potential Buddhahood, which is cultivated by the practitioner himself. A Bodhisattva must practise the six or ten *pāramitās*.

That is to say, with the Mahāyāna, as we have seen, there was the development of the Bodhisattva ideal, and with it a considerable growth of dynamic exercise, It may be noted that the Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra, the foundation of the Mahāyāna, appear with the title of *prajñā*. This title itself reveals exactly the new aspect emphasized in the Mahāyāna as distinct from the Hīnayāna. It need not be pointed out how much the development of later Buddhism depends on the idea of *prajñāpāramitā*.

The Mādhyamika school developed the intellectual self-training through knowledge, emphasizing thereby the theoretical structure built round *prajñā*. On the other hand, the Vijñānavāda school developed the inner experience through yoga accruing upon the treading of *jñana*. According to the Vijñānavāda school, *jñāna* represents the pure knowledge realized by the Enlightenment (*pṛsthalabdhijñāna*). This is the spiritual attendant in which discriminative knowledge is converted into non-discriminative knowledge Therefore, *pṛstha-labdhijñāna* means a conversion (*paravṛtti*) from the experimental world based upon discriminative knowledge into non-discriminative knowledge.[21]

Majjhima Nikāya, III. 28, Nd 475; Miln. 2, etc. There is, however, an example in which both vowels occur For example, the Atthasālini, the Bhandarkar Orintal Research Institute Edition (ed by Bapat), has a Pāli '*pāramibhāva*' (§85) for '*pāramitabhāva*' found in the Pāli Text Society Edition of the same text

[21] According to the investigation mentioned above the term *jñāna* concerns the knowledge, transcendental and consequential, while *prajñā* concerns the knowledge, immanent and existential. It is for this reason that the knowledge of the Buddha is always represented by the Sanskrit original, '*Buddhajñāna*' but not by '*Buddhaprajñā*'. It is because *prajñā* concerns the exercise of the practitioner, retaining thus its original meaning, immanent and existential. As far as the Chinese translation concerns, *Buddhajñāna* is rendered by 'chi', 'wei' and also 'chi wei' in a compound form. All these Chinese renderings are also applied to *prajñā* Thus,

With the basis of the *prajñāpāramitā*-idea there is some contrast drawn between the Mādhyamika and the Vijñānavāda, between intellectual and experiential self-training (the training of *prajñā*). But relevant investigation of the genesis of *prajñā* in the Early Buddhism, as we have seen before, shows that it is an expression merely of different emphasis. That is, there are two sides to Buddhist experience—the theoretical and the inner experiential. In other words, Buddhist experience involves not only seeing that the reality is 'emptiness' (*śūnyatā*) or an unknown, but also seeing this in inner experience, the 'mind-only' (*vijñaptimātratā*). But as we have mentioned this was only a difference of emphasis, and the two schools rarely clashed with one another.

Thus, the two schools hold, in line with the idea of *prajñāpāramitā*, possibly to its origin in the Early Buddhism, that *prajñā* means the knowledge-to-be-exercised.

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the Chinese translation has no rigid distinction between *jñāna* and *prajñā*. *Jñāna* stands for 'chi' and sometimes for 'wei' in Chinese. It is the same with *prajñā*.

From this historical point of view we can throw a new light upon the modern Buddhism in Japan. There have been the two trends of thought developed in Japan: zen Buddhism and Shinshu Pietism. The former, in this respect, emphasises *prajñā* (to be exercised), while the latter emphasises *jñāna* attributed simply to the Amida Buddha. The Shinshu Pietism has become paramount in Japan, so that faith in the Amida Buddha or the knowledge of Amida Buddha (*Buddhajñāna*) is the sufficient condition of salvation, and the concept of *prajñā* fades into second place or rather disappears. Both Zen intellectualism accruing on *prajñā* and Shinshu Pietism accruing on *jñāna* play the considerable roles in the development of modern Buddhism in Japan. Zen intellectualism is recognized as part of the preparation of the ultimate *jñāna*. It is praeparatio mystica. On the other hand, Shinshu Pietism is an ancillary to *prajñā* (meditative knowledge). We might characterize this relatian between intellectualism and pietism by assigning the different weights to the two forms of knowledge: *prajñā* and *jñāna* as we have described above.

RELIGION OF INDIA: DEATH, DEEDS AND AFTER

By

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Studying the growth of Indian philosophy, we meet with what we might describe as a rapid puberty, the transition from the Vedic and Brāhmaṇa childhood to the early adulthood of Sāmkhya philosophy. This pace is probably forced by the development of the heresies, Buddhism, etc, but as they all centre on the doctrines of transmigration, samsāra, and action, deed, karma, we feel it best to deal with these doctrines first.

It has been said that Hinduism has no creed, but this pair of doctrines is almost an obligatory belief. These contradictions in terms, the Christian Hindu, Zoroastrian Hindu, or Moslem Hindu might be dispensed; the newly-integrated savage tribes, e.g. in Assam, might be allowed to keep their beliefs on the after-life; but with fuller experience of civilization they will come to agree with the orthodox For everyone else the belief in karma and samsāra together is axiomatic. so that when we look at the classical philosophies of India, we find they are also practical; they have an aim, to release the individual from transmigration. which is the effect of their acts. *karma*. It is having karma(n) that renders one liable to samsāra.

The idea that our deeds in this life will affect our fate in the next is reflected in the many doctrines of hell, in Judean, Christian or pagan tradition. The idea of transmigration can be found in many places, including ancient Greece. But the combination of the two ideas, the belief that acts in this life determine the acts and fate in a subsequent life in this world is peculiarly Indian.

One misapprehension we should remove at once; namely the idea that the doctrine of samsāra declares a progress right up to the last life in this world when we reach perfection. There is no guarantee of progress whatever, even if there is a threat in the result of non-progress. But the idea of progress, especially inevitable progress, is a Victorian imposition on the doctrine which makes it intellectually respectable from the humanist standpoint as compatible with Darwinian evolution This evolution is then contained in ourselves, and so scientific, as being thus liberated from theological bonds. The Indian comment on the doctrine is found in the devotional cults, which cry out, ' Save us from samsāra before we have any more of it '.

On the history of the doctrine of transmigration we are in the usual Indian dilemma; some facts point to it being very old, others to its being quite recent. We should therefore first consider the Vedic ideas about the soul and death,

We suspect that there were originally a great many clear ideas on the matter, but not co-ordinated, or closely reasoned, and one might believe several simultaneously, as is still occasionally done.

The basis for transmigration, the idea that we do not cease to exist on physical death, is of course very old; the idea of complete annihilation is advanced. Even if there is no clear idea on what the dead do, as in the case of the Homeric nekuia, they are there. Men have souls, and since they are different in life, in so far as death is a continuation of life, differences in death are to be presumed. Odysseus saw the famous women of old, but in the Vedas remarkably little is said about the female; it may be that she is to be subsumed under the male, but one may remember the later Hindu view that she had no soul till she was married, and then she was merely part of her husband. This attitude must be connected with the growth of restrictions on womanhood, especially on the marriage of widows.

When does one get a soul? This problem in its modern dress is still with us, and in ancient times would have a practical relevance when may be half the deaths would be those of infants and young children. The soul could never have been delayed beyond the upanayana, investiture with the sacred cord, this ceremony goes back to Aryan times, and probably to Indo-European, for the Irish Cuchulain is also Twice-born, though the origin of the term has been misunderstood in Ireland. The Vedic idea seems to have made weaning the line of demarcation, because when cremation becomes the normal rite, children under 2 (our 1½) are buried, but may be cremated if the teeth have grown. But the classical view, from c 350 BC on, would seem to couple the soul with conception, since killing an embryo is one of the most heinous of crimes. In SpB IX 5/1.62 the killer of a human embryo is looked down on (*pari-cakṣ*); this means that infanticide occurred (c 800 BC), but was not normal, but at the same time not criminal. It may be that at this stage the infant is thought to receive a soul, or at least a soul that matters, when it is brought into official contact with the community, *i. e.* when the father takes it up, or perhaps when it gets a name. The name is important, for it is at one time a transmigrating entity. In Ch.U 5/9.10 (c 530?) the brahman-killer, *brahmahan*, is among the 4 great sinners, not the embryo-killer, *brūṇahan*; but this word gets substituted for or equated with the former, probably under the influence of the doctrine of *ahiṁsā*, non-killing, and also saṁsāra; thus in Vasiṣṭha's Dharma Sūtra 20.23 an embryo-killer is one who kills a brahman or an embryo. This passage has its obscurities, but the offence is in killing an embryo the sex of which is unknown, 'for such embryos become males'—evidently already the female human embryo, *i.e.* the woman has no soul of its own. To the Kaus U 3.1 (5th century BC ?) also embryo-killing is an appalling crime, and in Manu disqualifies from partaking

the funeral feast; there is always the ambiguity that bhrūṇa may be being used in the esoteric sense of a Brāhmaṇa versed in the 3 Vedas and ritual.

One might indeed expect souls to differ as men do, and king or priest receive different treatment from the commoner. But though RV knows both burnt and unburnt dead, no social distinction has been demonstrated. On the other hand, we have no instructions for a royal burial, and by the time of the sūtras we assume the rules laid down apply to everyone; but though they might well apply to all the twice-born, there is no reason to assert that śūdras would observe them also; we have no evidence, save that the lower social ranks tend to ape their betters.

Evidently although the soul has ceased to animate its body, it is still tied to it, and there is even the idea that just as the dead needs his bow (and apparently originally his wife) in the next world, so he needs his body, which must then be prepared for him. He is in fact told to reunite with it, so that it is important that the body should be uninjured, and the bones magically replaced if necessary. This suggests exposure of the corpse, which is further indicated by the development of the śrāddha ritual; in the case of a cremation, the dead could be expected to arrive in the world of the Fathers, pitṛ, quite within a month, and so be qualified to receive the ancestral offerings at once; but in the Kausikasūtra 88.27 it is a year before he is offered the śrāddha, in the intervening period being a *preta*, ghost. This makes sense with a practise of exposure, which may well have continued to lie behind the literary horror-descriptions of cemeteries.

What the soul was is always hard to answer, but we do find in Vedic, the the word *asu*, taken as Life, (= Avestan ahu); one suspects we have a weak grade of the root found in nose, ns=u, and we have the nose-breath, life-breath. In Rome the next of kin bent over to catch the last breath of the dying man, (anima = (breath) soul) and a similar performance is recommended in Kauṣ. U 2.15. The word disappears in Sanskrit, but is still known to Kauṣ. U 4.2; evidently prāṇa drives it out owing to the equation with brahman; breath on which life depends can be controlled, but life can not Catching the breath would be originally catching the soul; whether the son would then have 2 souls would be an irrelevant and irreverent question, but we have here an attempt to justify the assertion that we personally have immortality through our (male) children. This could also be a source of transmigration.

In RV performance of the rites releases the soul on its journey to the fathers or Yama, the first to die, with the guidance of Pūṣan or Agni (presumably he helps the cremated only), or Savitṛ; he goes past the dogs of Yama, who guard and round up Yama's herd, but also keep out those who should not be admitted, demons. The dead goes leaving everything nasty behind. Keith

translates sin, but the word is 'not to be spoken', *avadya*, *i.e.* we have not so much a proleptic statement that he will be free from the inauspicious when he gets to heaven, as a command not to bring any; which is ensured by the proper ritual, that includes these verses RV 10/14·6 ff. When one gets to Yama's house, one stays; so Naciketas in TB/Kaṭha U does not speak as if he did not expect to. Similarly Thieme has reconstructed a one-way journey from Kauṣ. U 1 and related texts, to a world where one lives happily ever after, though simultaneously, and some what contradictorily, the dead need the śrāddha offerings once a month or oftener.

This afterthought is not very surprizing ; In ŚpB XIII 3/5·2 we are distinctly told that there is just one death in the next world, namely Hunger. This is natural in a pacific and material heaven, such as the Vedic is represented to us. Every creature-comfort is available, soma, milk, honey, surā (evidently a kṣatriya survival, since though it is evidently a popular drink in RV, it has not the ritual privilege, and latter it is a source of offence), the joys of love in bodies free from all defects; no provision is made for hunting or fighting, which one might expect to be included in a kṣatriya paradise, though kingship or kṣatriyahood continues (ŚpB XII 8/3 7) Heaven is a world of light and waters, song and feast But here also there may be a conflation of ideas, for if the abundant svadhā is both the food of the spirits and the power by which they win it, what need of Śrāddha from men?

There is a similar confusion/conflation on divine immortality That immortality was not originally a divine property may be indicated by the Indo-European myth about the drink of immortality having to be won, preferably stolen; but once the eagle had won it for the gods, or the gods had cheated the asuras out of it, why do the gods need to be kept alive by the sacrifice? But they do; for we are told that the gods do not wish men to know (brahman) since they will then not need to sacrifice (and so the divine food-supply would be endangered). A compromise is found for this contradiction in the decision that the sacrifice contains soma, the drink of immortality.

Celtic gods and anti-gods can be killed, just as Indian asuras, who were cheated out of the amṛta—the successful possession of which may be regarded as reflecting the Oedipus complex, and stealing it its guilt; so is the confession that it cannot be won again today. Outbreaks of amorality are beyond guilt, and so we find them joined with search for immortality *e.g.* in the tantric cult Goetz suggests as explaining the iconography of certain temples at Khajurao c 1000 AD. But generally the possibility of death is accepted, gladly for demons (against whom fire is a sure killer), and with apprehension for ourselves, *i.e.* the ancestors, pitṛs. We may have a soul, but the soul does not have a soul, and evidently it is its body; its death involves annihilation, and is regarded as a

disaster to be avoided at all costs. The danger of re-death, *punarmṛtyu*, is a continual theme in the brāhmaṇas, and the sure recommendation of an esotericism is to say it releases the knower from re-death. With the classical doctrine of samsāra, there is no further word of a soul dying; that indicates that the conception of its nature has changed, doubtless in the philosophic crisis of the 6th century. But so long as there was a fear of losing life by dying in heaven, the material or sensual heaven of the pitṛs and Yama, it is fair to hold that material life was considered valuable and enjoyable, or at least that its prizes were. This is still the attitude in the early Dharmasūtras, of Gautama c. 600, and Baudhāyana (who may have lived further from the centre of Indian thought, —he is taken to be a southerner--c. 500 BC?; he may very well belong to the Mahratta country, since his family is of the Vasisṭhas, who had a very old connection with the Aśmakas of that region)

In this Vedic account it is worth noting that the soul of the dead reaches (the kingdom of) Yama, where he is welcomed, on the performance of appropriate funeral rites. If these rites are not performed, or are not yet complete, the ghost cannot make his journey, he cannot be at rest, and it is ghosts in this state that are dangerous. But they are released to their world by ritual. In RV there is no description of hell, and no sign of judgement; nor does such an idea seem Indo-European. The punishments of Varuṇa are in this world, not the next. But the idea of moral retribution on death implies a willingness to sit in judgement on one's father, an individualism that asserts a personal responsibility to an external standard, which is not possible at the Vedic stage of society, where responsibility is to the community or the family When hells do come into being, they are not at first entered by open competition in depravity, *e.g.* JB 1/325. There are 3 heavens and 3 hells of the sāman; when the chant is begun too soon is (no. 1) hell; having caused one's hostile rival to fall (into it) the beginning is heaven, having the Pratihartṛ priest join in on the 4th instead of the last sāman, and after the 4th having a general chorus (instead of leaving it to the pratihartṛ only joining in first?) are the other 2 hells; causing one's hostile rival to fall (into them?) the 4th sāman and the finale are (the 2 other) heavens. In AV 5/19 the one who injures a brahman sits in streams of blood eating hair, just as in Ch.U. 5/9-9/ the killer of a brahman goes to hell—they may have had very good cause, but brahman soul is more powerful than e.g. Caṇḍāla. RV passages like 4/5.5, 7/104,3 certainly promise no good to the bad; but the attitude could be fairly summed up as equivalent to the very modern 'Damn you!'- someone has given the speaker offence, and may he be damned. And the imprecation is timeless or permanent, bearing no evidence of a belief in transmigration Or, if Indra and Soma are asked to pierce the doers of ill (harm to us) in the darkness that offers no hold, or possibly to throw them into it, it is hoped that the request will be fulfilled now,

not that only when their time comes will the evil go to Yama and be condemned there. It is one thing to hope that bad men will be punished, and quite an other to assert a moral standard well aware that one may fall under one's own condemnation. Evil people cannot be denied, but it cannot be said that the early Veda ever gets to the assertion of rewards and punishments in the next world/life by moral performance in this.

We should also note that the Fathers, pitṛ, tend to be a collective. In the later pravara lists, kept to give guidance on restrictions of intermarriage we find 1 name, but usually 3, and not more than 5 names as representative of the descent. In the śrāddha father, grandfather, and great-grandfather are the representatives invoked to send sons; this is common sense; for since the sacrificer needs sons of his own to feed him when he is dead, he must appeal to the fathers that knew him personally to make sure that he is heard; if his great-great-great-great-grandfather (and consequently also those further up the line) are being fed by an other branch of the family, what need they care ?

The impression that one gets is that the dead lose their individual characters, and their existence rather than their idiosyncracies are important. The (traditional) Christian faces a judgement based on the morality ot his deeds and dispositions, his talents and the use made of them ; the result is that he feels these make up the soul, and somehow they are inseparable from it, though it may be in the power of God to cleanse the undesirable. But these dispositions are the permanent him. But to the Indian these things are qualities that adhere, and the soul, the *asu*, *prāna* (breath) or *puruṣa* (animating principle ?), whichever term we use—is rather an entity, free or at least separate from these qualities, which performs the same function for everyone, so that purusas are alike. It is then natural to think of pitṛs collectively. The activity fit for a collective state is rather that of being than doing, and vagueness becomes natural. So we find that the Fathers, pitr, are in heaven ; but there are traces of their abode being under the earth—natural if they are buried—but the moon is also an abode of souls, an idea that may be due to the identification of the moon with soma, the drink of immortality.

Even if their heaven is vague, and the pitṛs are static in their own abode, the connection with their descendents remains, and the parties can be expected to assist in difficulties reciprocally, until the triumph of the classical doctrine of transmigration with karma. On the one hand the Fathers, while not technically gods, are in the same kind of supernormal world, of the same superfine matter as they, and are virtually minor (collective) divinity ; they may then be expected to help the family, even in battle—in RV 6/75.9 they have notable weapons, strength in arrows, and overcome hosts. And the human can reciprocate; so a model student (Gaut. DhS 9.74), that is brahmin snātaka, frees his parents and

his lineage 7 up and 7 down from troubles, *duritebhyas*, and never falls from Brahma's heaven. Or, Baudh. DhS I 10/19·12 by false witness one kills, that is with re-death, beyond redemption, 3 up and down his genealogy, while in II 9/16·9 by getting a good son (*i e.* a perfect brahmin) one saves one's self plus 6 up and down his line.

But once we have the belief in samsāra, then the dead, even if they are divinities, are as impotent as any other god; nor is there any reason to suppose they will remain a collective, because everyone's actions are different and by any logic they are likely to be in widely different places, not all particularly honourable. And if some are likely in animal reincarnation, and others in hell, quite clearly they have enough troubles of their own, and even if some are human, they are unlikely to know they are ours, and certain to be quite as impotent. Yet the offerings go on, and this is typical of Indian religion. Nothing can be rejected, because it has always been right; but plainly there is nothing the śrāddha can do if the soul is at once reincarnated or taken on the journey that leads to that; the offering to the dead as a perpetual obligation implies a permanent state.

When and whence does the belief in samsāra come? We note that the proliferation and interest in ghosts, *preta*, is first met in the Buddhist writings; we therefore suspect that the belief that everyone is a preta for (at least) a year (instead of going at once to Yama's world) is a compromise by orthodoxy forced from below. We suspect a similar origin for the acceptance of samsāra that is forced on the orthodoxies by the heresies or potential heresies of the 6th century BC. It is significant that non-brahmins are prominent among the leaders of these heresies, and we are distinctly told in the oldest orthodox appearances of the doctrine of transmigration (BrU 6/2, ChU 5/3, Kauṣ. U 1) that it was a ksatriya doctrine, and even had not been taught to brāhmaṇas before. Presumably then it appealed to kṣatriyas, the ruling class, and also one would think it could not have appealed to them if they had thought life was pain. One should not perhaps expect the ksatriya to anticipate life as pain; by their innate nature as kṣatriyas they would hardly expect to return as vaiśya or śūdra which would be not them. In other words, if only by sexual optimism, the kṣatriya would not expect to return to any position save an enviable one in the upper class, where human life is quite clearly greatly enjoyed, even with only the luck that always seems to go to other people. The brahmin may claim half the merit of sacrifice, but the kṣatriya can always recoup by controlling transmigration by the magical knowledge of its doctrine (taking a leaf out of the brahmin book), and ritual acts, sacrifices (of which one can always concoct one for any aim), the karma, of which they are themselves the patient and spendthrift institutors.

We are told that the doctrine of samsāra was introduced to brahmanic circles through Śvetaketu at a (schematic) date of 790, and though this would be possible, and princes certainly have reason for optimism at that time, Śvetaketu is almost the latest of the 'canonical' teachers, so that to have ascribed the doctrine to anyone later would have been to deprive it of authority; hence we consider the serious brahmanical interest only begins in the 6th century since it is not demonstrable for the First rehandling of BrU 3-4 in the first half of that century, and not evident in Gautama DhS of c 600 When we do fiind it in the kṣatriya world of the 6th century, saṃsāra has become connected with pessimism. One would suspect that the optimism of the kṣatriya class fades through the 6-5th centuries with the centralization of kingdoms on the one hand, and the rise of merchants and money economy with high interest on the other; the loss of faith in ritual is also relevant, because it can no longer guarantee the high status that could previously be assumed, and mere kṣatriyahood, that is gentle blood, might be no more guarantee against poverty than it was to the 18th century French nobleman or Polish szlachcic. Yet the Buddhist way is rather for the few, and the failure of sacrifice and ritual must be reflected in the rise of deism from the 5-4th centuries on One might note in a similar economic transition in Greece the same trend to pessimism in the landowning aristocracy, the contrast of Homer's heroes, who are willing to enjoy life if only they get the chance, to whom being dead is miserable, with the pessimism of Herodotus' Solon, Call no man happy till he is dead.

Every race has a paradise, which consists of perfect earthly conditions Not everyone need enter, and qualifications may be as arbitrary as for the Athenaeum There is the Celtic land of youth, Tir nan Og, the Greek Elysian fields, to which divine genealogy or marriage-alliance may admit. The Indian pitṛs as we saw had a very comfortable time, and if one could choose a gandharva form, that is a fertility spirit form, he should certainly enjoy himself Presumably the gods too, when they are not being harried and scared by the asuras are very comfortable.

This idea of a heavenly if very earthly paradise is never given up in India. In classical times, Indra has his paradise, about all that is left of his prerogative. At least the weaker souls among the heretics of ascetic belief do not disdain such, for Buddhist and Jain art is thoroughly worldly from the beginning, and we find the most seductive yakkhinis, apsarasas, nymphs sculptured and painted in the shrines So too in the rounds of transmigration we hear of periods long or short, preferably long, during which the personality is in paradise, Indra's or other, and it is a sad thought for him that he will have to quit in 10,000 years, and come back to some human or animal condition. No one is in a paradise for life, nor is paradise the antechamber to Release or Nirvāṇa—indeed in his potentiality for winning these men is superior to the gods. And in accordance

with this guilty but unashamed hankering after the worldly joys, Buddha came into his historical life from the Tusita heaven, where having sated experience, he descended to an earthly heaven, the royal household of King Śuddhodana. Buddha's house and upbringing is not painted for what it was, the probably quite ordinary, and possibly even quite poor house of a country gentleman of the fighting class, but as the earthly paradise of a powerful monarch. Here again we have the prestige of perfection that the Indian (brahmanical) mentality imposes; the doctrine is perfect, the Buddha is perfect, therefore his environment must have been, and this is the 'significant' if not the historical truth. There is no question of romanticizing the stable, just as there is no prominent proletarian element in the early Buddhist church.

Much the same may be said for Mahavira Jina; legend is not afraid to upgrade his family environment, and bring thus the vicarious enjoyment of wealth to his worshipper. Quite clearly, whatever might be the official theory of Hinduism or heresy, there was a very widespread opinion that earthly pleasures were well worth having; so a devout Buddhist princess of mediaeval Burma can make a gift to acquire her 10,000 god-years in paradise before she goes on to Nirvāṇa. In classical Hinduism this material value is practically admitted by the acknowledgement of *kāma*, love, and *artha*, wealth, profit, as legitimate aims of life, or at least part of it.

So long as material pleasures are good, and one enjoys these in the world of the dead, there is no point in quitting that world. It is not surprising then if orthodoxy did not originally acknowledge transmigration. So when Gautama tells us (DhS 9 74) that the model brahmanical student never falls from Brahma's heaven, or (8·25·6) that one who has the 40 sacraments, but not the 8 qualities, or (13·7) that truthful witnesses win heaven, the implication is permanence. This is also the implication of Baudhāyana, (DhS I 3/5 13) sages reach the highest abode of Prajāpati Parameṣṭhin; ib. 3/10·7 a fool, even offering gifts, does not reach heaven, ib. II 9/16·9 one saves one's self and 6 up and down his line by begetting a perfect son, *i.e.* he saves from dying in the next world. On the other hand, ib. I 11/21 3 he causes such death down to the 7th generation of his family if he gives his daughter in marriage for money, and an early interpolator has added, in unusual phraseology, transmigration is an extra penalty (unless we should translate 'Also a fine is laid on the go-between', which has its objections).

One may also doubt whether the Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad accepted the classic transmigration. BrU 1-2 does not know it, and references in 3-4 are either otherwise interpretable or easily detached. So in 4/4.4 when the soul leaves the body, as a goldsmith takes a piece of gold and makes a new and better shape, so the soul, dispelling ignorance makes a new and better form, either as

a pitṛ, or Gandharva, or a god, deva, a prajāpati, creator of creatures, Brahmā, or of other beings—not be it note, of man or animal. And this contradicts the interpolator who says his acts and knowledge take hold of him, for if so, how does he create like the goldsmith? The one who knows Brahma would take the brahma form, but there is no sign of anything but the permanence of the other states. While it would call for much argument to establish the position here taken, for which there is no room here, it would generally be accepted that the orthodox doctrine of saṃsāra with karma prevailed by 400 BC.

The acceptance of the doctrine need not cause surprize owing to its rapidity; it captured the leading intellectual and social classes, or at least their élites; the idea that the socialist welfare state is the only right one has had an equally rapid and profound acceptance in modern times. We need not demand centuries of acclimatization to samsāra. But it might be interesting to ask in view of the universality of the doctrine. What was the mechanism of samsāra?

The modern idea of transmigration, especially to those Westerners who take it up is Once a man, always a man. And this may have been in the early idea. But in the ancient world the transition from human to animal form or vice versa is perfectly easy and natural. It is part of a god's elementary qualities that he can assume any change of form at will; occasionally he can be reduced to it against his will, or can be caught if he does not change and is taken unawares, as Odysseus caught Proteus. We find a late form of the motif in the ballad of Tam Lane, who will change into 'an esk but and an adder' before resuming his human shape. There is no loss of dignity in such a transition to animal. To the child the animal is as itself, and is treated as an equal; here again we have a resurgence of the child psychology in dealing with the religious unknown. The Greek separation of man from animal and god from animal is one of Greece's greatest achievements; but we find Athene taking the form of a sparrow in the Odyssey, and we know that in many cases the sacred animals were earlier their respective gods. Pythagoras had a transmigration that included animal stage, and in Ireland Tuan O'Carrill had similar experience; he was first a man, then he became a stag, after that a boar (Celtic sacred animals), then a fish, which being caught and eaten by Carrill, he became his son. Whether the boar ate the stag or the fish the boar does not appear, but in ChU 5/10.6 being eaten by a man is the only way to become human, though it would seem that one remains vegetable until so eaten.

The mechanism of samsāra receives very little attention in Indian philosophy. The practical attitude is If we know the fact, its how? doesn't matter, just as Buddha forbade certain philosophic questions because they could contribute nothing to the crying need, release from transmigration. The process is basically that described in the Yorkshire song, 'On Ilkley moor baht' at, and depends

on the analysis of things as *nāmarūpa*, name and form. The name is a reality and cannot be annihilated, so it may cling to the material in the transmogrifications of this latter, just as nail-clippings or hair are still the person, and so can be used against him magically. One might say this implies that the material is the man, and everyone should be hundreds of people, because he has eaten hundreds of vegetables of ducks. But this is only a crude objection, because the material has the name which is immaterial and one, so the transmigrating entity can retain its unity, the name is of the material, but not it.

It would certainly have been difficult to come to an agreement scientifically demonstrated on the actual process of transmigration. There had been thinkers who held that the body was the self; as this idea would not impinge on the efficacy or necessity of the sacrifice or ritual for material well-being or magic, they would remain within orthodoxy; their doctrine is absorbed in the *annamaya puruṣa, annam brahma*, brahma is food, the soul consisting of food, as found in Tait.U 3/2. Materialists continue, and Ajita Keśakambalin c 520 BC denies transmigration (and a *fortiori* karma) because at death the physical elements dissolve, separate to their own places, and this is a full account of the process of death; there is nothing to transmigrate. The counter to this statement seems to have been proving that there was a soul/something to transmigrate without demonstrating how. The assertion of transmigration by the great teachers, and their claim to know their previous lives, whether they actually made it, or it was ascribed to them as a logical and necessary perfection, was decisive for their disciples, who became the overwhelming majority: the argument became one from authority, and in such unanimity the question How? is of no relevance to karma, and at most the answer would be a scientific fact as uninteresting as most others. There is also a progressive reason for lack of interest in asking the question, namely that in the brāhmana period such knowledge would have had its reward, but when thought has become adult and emancipated from magic, and karma moralized, knowing the doctrine or anything about it is not going to change the karma. For a short time it did, for in the early doctrine the will at death could control the next life, and this could only be the will of one who knows; hence one suspects that the doctrine of transmigration was overtaken by modern thinking before it had time for elaborate brahmanical development, *i.e.* in Buddha's time it was not very old as a systematic and serious idea.

Our account of the mechanics of samsāra is first found in a text shared by Bṛhad Āraṇyaka and Chāndogya Upaniṣads, which knew the one-way journey reflected in the Kauṣītaki. It is quite possible that the heresies would be generally content with the orthodox account there given, because they make no innovation on the funeral rites, and certainly none that depends on the peculiarity of their doctrine. Buddha himself had an ordinary if princely funeral ; not more

than the dispute over his relics was abnormal. There was no reason for major disagreement on the course of events at death; as a scientific it was a limited question, and so unworthy of the perfect total intellect.

In the original account the dead go to the moon. The reason for this is originally a word-jingle that may go back to Indo-European times; man = think, manas = 'mind', māna = thought, mā = measure, mā-as/mnns ?, cf Gk. mēn, = moon (Lat. mēnsis = month, Mēna = goddess presiding over women's courses): aod māna = abode, cf Lat. maneo – stay, mansion) from (d) man–. In the dissolution of the body the Brahmanic manas is always going to the moon. That is at one stage the manas is the soul, and this may be supported from RV 10/58.1 where a manas went to Yama.

However, there are many dangers for the dead; they go to an unknown world, and that itself must be a cause of subconscious fear. So the ancient Egyptian, even Pharoah was threatened with dangers; and just as there is initiation into the adult community, so there must be into the dead. Passing an initiation gives that little bit of self-confidence and superiority difference that everyone needs; the North American form is the juvenile initiations into school/ university fraternities. It adds that extra thrill that there are some people who fail. So when the soul gets to the moon it is asked some question, and if it answers correctly, it is let go on to the next stage of the journey to the brahma world. As in the Egyptian case, the only safe method is to know; wild guessing and a hope for the best are not good enough; so we have the fate after death determined *yathāvidyā*, according to knowledge, and this wording recurs in the early accounts of samsāra, *e.g* the interpolator of BrU 4/4.2, or Katha U 2/2 7. But there is always a stimulus to knowledge if we know the penalty of ignorance; so we are informed. By comparing BrU 6/2.16, ChU 5/10.8, KausU 1/2 we can know that those who had not been prepared with the knowledge became insects, in fact probably originally flying insects, between earth and heaven, *kītāh patañgāh*. This is variously expanded in the different version, but is interesting as suggesting a time when insects and animals were not on the same level in Indian feeling; man can always feel a kinship with the animal, but to early man the insect world is neither beneficial nor sympathetic, *e. g.* insects are not his food, (with a few special case exceptions), whereas fish or animal is. Significantly it is the late Kaus.U that embroiders most, adding animals, fish, bird, lion, bear etc. In BrU 6/2.15-6 *vidyā*, knowledge takes to the brahma-world, and ritual to human reincarnation (ultimately); but those who do not know these two ways become insects.

When all went the same way, there was clearly need only for one path for the dead. But once there are two ends the paths must branch somewhere. It is worth noting that physically and psychologically men need rest, and desire

purpose, for purpose fulfilled will give rest; hence there is no question of universal aimless transmigration, even though the conventional transmigration is purposeless. The paths diverge in the moon; there is the waxing moon and the waning moon, the lengthening day and the shortening day. But the path is based on a traditional one-way journey, and this is clear from the language of the passage, which begins 'Those who know this, and those who meditate on Faith as truth'.. 'this' is a doctrine of the old brāhmaṇa type, the reward of knowing which is the common guarantee of success, in this case reaching the (perpetual) Brahma-world; an explanation of the equivalence of heat/fire and life. We should remember that "Those who know this" could be expected to be brāhmaṇas, and so would naturally want to go the brahma-world. We could expect the same of the other category also. Those who meditate on truth as faith, *śraddhām satyam* (ChU austerity as faith *śraddhām* tapas) in the forest. Psychologically this can be justified, and connected with the passage according to the will at death; but one suspects it has been reformed from *śrāddham satyam* (*upāsate*, those who perform) a correct *śrāddha*, offering to the ancestors. The ChU version can be parallelled by BrU 5/11·1 for its original sense, where the highest austerity/heat, *tapas*, is when they bring the dead into the *forest* and cremate him there.

However, ideas are changing, and we must examine the journey. The brahman/ascetic reaches/is changed into light (a shooting star? arcis), from light to day, from day to the waxing (lunar) ½-month, thence to the lengthening day ½-year, from there to the world of the gods, thence to the sun, thence to the moon, from there to the lightening (possibly the original is the bright part of the moon, because the moon is omitted in BrU 6/2 15, but is after the sun in ChU 5/10·2 and BrU 5/10·1, the original text would be *ādityād candramasam v(a)idyutam*, from the sun to the shining moon There the soul is met, we are told by a mental or non-human person; however the original text can be recovered, and has unexpected points of interest.

BrU reads *tān vaidyutān puruṣo mānasa etya brahmalokam gamayati*, them belonging to lightening/consisting of lightening a mental person coming guides to the brahma world. The soul does not elsewhere consist of lightening, and we want *vaidyntāt*, with th n/t confusion ubiquitous in Mss. Next, a mental person is peculiar, and we need only reread the ChU version, *puruṣo mānavah*, not *puruṣo'mānavah*, not a non-human person, but one belonging to Manu. We can now retranslate; *tān vidyutāt puruṣo Mānava etya brahmalokaṁ gamayati*, them (the souls) from the lightening/lit part of the moon a person/spirit in the service of Manu coming, guides to the world of brahma. At the gate of paradise one would expect someone, a minor janitor, to escort the (triumphant) soul to the king; and this suggests that the king Yama Vaivasvata the Iranian first of men to die is the same as Manu Vaivasvata, the Indian first man. Yama is

the title as twin; but Manu is the first man, and must have a wife, who if she is not made from/for him, can only be made with him, coeval, Yamī, twin-sister, whom we meet in RV. Without a story of Cain and Abel the first man must also have died first, which Yama did, and in India AV 18/3·13 tells us Yama did. The separation of Manu from his title Yama proved ackward for the mythology, and Yāska gives us one of the attempts to restore order in the myths; Tvaṣṭṛ was going to give his daughter to Vivasvat, but the gods made a form like her, savarṇa; she bore the pair Yama and Yamī, to Vivasvat, and on the female eidolon was born also from Vivasvat Manu *Sāvarṇi.* Such a story was not necessary when Manu was Yama. What susceptibilities the union of Vivasvat and Tvaṣṭṛ's daughter should have offended I cannot suggest.

The further path to Brahma is figured in Kaus. U; it is decidedly material, and at one point apsarases abound, 500 of them. This leads to ascetic soul-searching, for while in ChU (omitting the further description of Kaus.) the soul then stays in Brahma's heaven, and did so originally in BrU, which says 'Of these there is no return', BrU has inserted the addition immediately before 'They dwell long periods in Brahma-worlds'. The material has offended, and in the classical ideas all heavens come to an end, and the merit that acquired them becomes exhausted; one is in such heavens for long periods, for god-years are far longer than human, and no one dreams of merit that will only produce a fortnight's holiday. The idea of the brahma world, happy heaven has had to compromise with that of the cyclic universe, and also the unreality of the material. We might also notice that Yama's heaven has been transferred to Brahma in the decline of the old Ṛgvedic gods.

We may now look at the journey to transmigration. It is undertaken by the sacrificer: ChU. Those who in the village (*i e.* not having yet become vānaprastha, retired and gone into the forest) practise the sacrificial ritual with the thought 'It is given'. That the meritorious giving is sacrificial, (or its substitute, to priests) may be seen by comparing the BrU passage 6/2.16 and ib. 5/2.2. In the former we read, 'Those who win worlds by the austerity/heat, tapas, of giving', glossed by *yajñena* (now part of the text), sacrifice: the giving, *dāna* tapas should be compare with the Ch.U *śraddhā tapas*, faith heat-power in the other path.

They change into/reach the smoke (of the pyre), thence to night, thence to the waning ½-month, to the ½-year of waning day, to the world of the Ancestors, the pitṛloka. Thence they go to the moon (via *ākāśa*, ether, adds Ch.) where they become food for the gods, who eat them, telling King Soma 'Swell up towards (us), wane away'. This sounds strange, but soma = the moon, and presumably when the light is increasing the "cup" is being filled, when the gods start partaking, it empties, and the moon wanes. *teṣām yadā tat parj-*

avalti, of them (the gods (?)) when that (food, *i,e.* the dead) comes round down (*i.e.* when they are excreted), then they (the dead) fall down into the ether we know (*imam akāśm*), thence into air, thence into the rain, from the rain into the earth, where again they become food.

BrU now simply says that they are poured in the male fire, and born in the female fire; the words used assert human, not animal, and do not imply any difficulty in the process—births are perennial. Thus BrU ties up with the old doctrine 6/2.14 that began the discussion, knowing which guaranteed brahmaloka. But it does not guarantee their knowing the doctrine. Getting back up into worlds again, (*i.e.* winning worlds. lokān, as before by sacrifice, gifts (to brāhmaṇas) etc.) they so repeat the cycle. Indeed there is no guarantee or even expectation that they will choose or even be in a position to choose the brahmaloka course next time—most people are not, not being born brāhmaṇas. Winning worlds is a very difficult phrase to understand; winning the world of *e.g.* sacrifice seems to mean having complete control of sacrifice and everything connected with it, so for instance one is in no danger of failing complete success in any sacrificial activity or its aim.

But in ChU we already have developments. The dead reach the moon; the gods eat it; dwelling in it *yāvatsampātam*, so long as there is remnant of their offerings, (but it could have meant 'until thrown out'), they descend by much the same route as in BrU; but their becoming food is particularized; they may become barley, rice, beans or trees. And this state is extremely difficult to get out of, for he must be eaten by a male for further birth; (note again, he has to be emitted as semen, so it is possible that the woman was not regarded as having a soul (though she had a *jīva*, life-soul). It is also possible that we have here a reflection of the old view that only the father had the essential of lifegiving, the woman did not contribute; and this view, still acceptable in Buddha's time, had implications for the status of the children of mixed marriages.) It is perhaps here significant that the vegetable stage is not recognized as a life in samsāra by Buddhism, whereas it is by Jainism, Buddha (cf. BrU) is one generation earlier than the Jina (cf. ChU). Katha U 2/2.7 also recognizes the vegetable state.

We are told it is exceedingly hard to get out of this state; it seems to depend quite a bit on chance whether one does it at all, but the attitude is at least that there is no great advantage in being eaten quickly; there is plenty time in the kalpa, and human life is not so valuable that it is important to have many; or perhaps, since the brahma world is open only to brāhmaṇas, it is a matter of indifference whether non-brāhmaṇas ever get there at all. It might thus seem that orthodoxy accepted samsāra first as applying only to men; but logically if eating food was in the mechanism, the animal and further, the insect stages had

to be included; these were thus raised to common level with man. And this process might be reinforced logically by the conception of what transmigrated, if this should be identified with jīva, the life soul, as is done by the Jains, — life is the same in man and beast,—involving motion, growth and reproduction, and these last two are shared by the vegetable, which can then equally be conceived as living, jīva. The use of the animal fable in Jātakas by Buddhists may have contributed to the establishment of the animal stage in orthodox samsāra also; but it is possible that the causation is the other way, and the acceptance of animal samsāra contributed to the development and popularity of the animal story. Animal birth in classical samsāra is normally a punishment, so that if Buddha was not pretty often previously a bad man—an ackward deduction the texts do not face—these stories should arise from a pre-karma stage of the doctrine of transmigration; and that they are popular bears out our impression that samsāra was forced on orthodoxy from below.

There is no sign of reincarnation in BrU 6/2 being conditioned by previous moral behaviour. KausU, giving a very abbreviated account of the journey, says that one gets one's status *yathākarma yathāvidyām*, according to deeds and knowledge. This phrase sounds immediately moral to us, but it is not necessarily so in Sanskrit at all; it would mean originally 'According as he has made sacrifices, ritual', and we may remember that originally one only qualified for this path by having done brahmanic ritual. 'According to knowledge' is not moral either, and originally referred to knowledge of a particular doctrine. But ChU 5/10·7 does assert conditioning by previous moral behaviour, in unusual words, which itself suggests a technical terminology not yet fixed. We have suspected that Buddha moralized the doctrine of samsāra by wedding it to that of moral karma; and here we have the same time-sequence as we found for vegetable stage in samsāra, namely BrU—Buddha — ChU — Jina. (The last two can be, and very possibly are contemporary in both cases).

It might be possible to translate ChU 5/10·7 as saying, 'Those (seeds/plants) whose eating is pleasant, their eating (tends) towards that they fall into a nice womb one of the twice-born, and nasty ones get into nasty wombs, dog, sow or untouchable', *tad ya iha ramaṇīyacaraṇā abhyāśo ha yat te ramaṇīyaṁ yonim āpadyeran brāhmaṇayoniṁ vā kṣatriyayoniṁ vā vaiśyayoniṁ vā* ., but the normal rendering is, 'Those whose conduct is to be delighted in, the next thing is that they will fall into wombs to be delighted in, twice-born grades'. The opposite of 'to be delighted in' is kapūya 'stinking, evil-smelling'. In favour of the first interpretation is the fact that these adjectives are not normally applied to moral conduct, but are more natural with food; but carana = eating is a meaning found only in the lexicographers, while = conduct is very common. It may well be that we have again old phrasing reused and put to new meaning.

While Aryans had the world of the fathers, *pitṛloka*, it is possible, or even likely that non-Aryans did not, or at least could not enter the Aryan one. This would account for the third path mentioned by BrU & ChU; for the path of transmigration was only open to those who fulfilled the sacrificial round, and for *śūdras* this is not possible. This is also in accordance with the importance of the *śrāddha*, ancestor worship, in the formation of caste as we know it. So the non-Aryans, forming a substratum in popular levels were far more ghost/vampire-haunted than the twice-born. Hence when the pretas emerge to importance with Buddhism, so that Keith can say the idea of the dead *on earth* helping their descendants is practically unknown in N. India before Buddhism, we have the reflection of a popular revolt against the brahman contempt of the non-Aryan dead. Transmigration has been called the Indian Hell; or nightmare; when life is pain, misery, what was the attraction of a belief that condemns to repeated pain? We can now see the answer, that in its early stage transmigration was a liberation; the non-Aryan was freed from eternal existence (or rapid annihilation) in the shape of an insect, or worm, or some other horrid living form. Even though Buddhism accepts the (end of the) third way, it has attained a certain status, for one may be born not as a man or animal, but as a Preta, a ghost, that hungry and thirsty as it may be, yet has an existence of its own. The acceptance of transmigration brought equality with the Aryan; and when Hinduism, orthodoxy, retreats to the country in the Indian urbanization, it has to accept the popular belief for survival; that is, transmigration becomes universalized, and remains so. Just as nirvāna enables the unqualified to become a brāhmana, in effect, so samsāra makes the unqualified an Aryan.

I have not found any further account of the mechanism of samsāra. What the Upaniṣad had said could not be subsequently denied. In Buddhism and Jainism it is the reason for it rather than the mechanism of it that is asserted. Yet the reason for it is given only in terms of the individual, why he comes under it; the argument for the general phenomenon is not given. Again, in the classical 6 systems, proofs of God, or rebuttals may be given, but not proofs of karma or samsāra; it seems to be felt that if the materialist is refuted, and the existence of a soul proved, these doctrines follow. The only proof I can find comes in ChU 5/10.8. If it were not for transmigration, the other world, *asau lokaḥ*, would be filled up (and there would be no room for any immigrants, so that people couldn't die, or else the ghosts would pile up here). It is extraordinary to think that the suggestion that samsāra can account for the supply of souls for human bodies is never made—though a high rate of stillbirths and pre-weaning mortality might throw doubt on the unfailing supply.

We may now consider the second of the Indian pair, the doctrine of the act, *karma(n)*, a condensed phrase for the effect of the act. The first mention of karma with transmigration is generally taken to be BrU 3/2·10-3. However,

it is worth while taking a careful look at the passage, since the usual translations follow Śankara and so view the passage in its classical rather than contemporary context. Moreover the chapter has been retouched, and some disorder remains.

In ·1-9 we have the senses asserted (plus hands and speech for the sake of ·13); the senses are elsewhere known at this time as breaths, *prāṇa*, so that ·11 should come next; When a man dies, do the breaths/senses go out of him or not? (*cf* 4/4·2, where they collect in the heart (*cf* 4/3·19, 2/1.17), and they do get out, but the author is not sure by what aperture). The answer here is that they do not get out, The breaths/senses are led down together in him/here (pointing to the heart), and the man swells up, he is blown into, and lies dead blown into/inflated. This is not a satisfactory answer, for it is not accepted that the soul stays there; so we should take next 10, with reasoning that the soul/senses are there in the power of death; if they are not going to stay in the corpse, how are they to get out? .10 now tells: Since everying here is food of death, of what Power is death the food? The answer was, 'Death is the food of fire (fire the food of water), a man/it repels redeath.' Something has clearly happened to the text, for as we have it, it says, 'Death is fire,' which does not answer the question. We remember BrU 6/2 14, *cf.* 5/11·1; the dead was released to the brahmaloka or samsāra by the funeral pyre; thus fire may be said to eat death, and the reference to redeath is relevant. For *agnir vai mṛtyuh so'pām annam upa punar-mṛtyum jayati* read *anger vai mṛtyuh/r annam so'pa punar-mṛtyum jayati.* I suspect that the reference to water is a gloss; it is not relevant at this point, though the general statement is true that water quenches fire, and so can be said to eat it, — there is no sign of it being used to quench the pyre Of the emendation agner I am much more sure. We do not need to assume a change of subject; nor need we assume loss of *ya evam veda* 'who knows thus' *it* (not 'a man') repels redeath/death again.

When one goes to a sensual paradise it is assumed that he takes his senses with him — he is after all there to enjoy himself. But there had been reassessment of the nature of the self, and though it recalls them all at death into the heart which itself evacuates, they are its qualities rather than its essence, and so may be lost. We may then ask, as is done in ·12, 'What does not, cannot leave a person?' The answer is 'The name; the name is eternal, all gods are eternal, one has eternality with it'. The relevance of 'all the gods' is that the dead are virtually minor divinities, that is the pitṛs, (for those who have any, *i.e.* the Aryans) are; and the brāhmaṇa is already putting forward his claim to be a living divinity. Read *viśve, devāḥ* not the conventional *Viśvedevāḥ* 'The All-gods are eternal,' from which it is very hard to extract meaning. It will be seen that this analysis is very close to Buddhism; Buddha analyses things as name and form, *nāmarūpa*, and the name can fairly represent the transmigating entity

since the form obviously does and can not. Here the puruṣa is the transmigrating entity, at least what is left after the body, and it is virtually identified with the name.

But while the name/soul may be alive, what happens to it? This we are told in ·13. When man is dissolved into his elements, and his speech goes to fire, his breath to air, his sight to the sun, his mind to the moon, his hearing to the quarters, his body to earth, his ātman, self, to ether, his hairs to vegetation, and his blood and semen are deposited in the waters, then where is the soul coming to be? Yājñavalkya replies "We will not say this in public" and retires with his questioner. They two went out and discussed. We now have the crux; the usual translation is "What they said was karma, what they praised was karma; one becomes good by good action, bad by bad action". This translation is faulty, as the last clause should be in inverted commas, but it hardly makes praise; pra-śaṁs might be better translated proclaim, but as it was done in private, there could hardly be a proclamation; It is perfectly legitimate to translate as follows "when they said, it was a rite indeed they said; when they praised, it was a rite indeed they praised, saying 'One comes into being auspicious with an auspicious rite, ard inauspicious with an inauspicious rite/ill rite' (*i.e.* it would be possible *e.g.* to procure an inauspicious birth for an enemy by a *pāpam karma*, evil rite; the belief in transmigration has been accepted, and it poses a new situation, that a rite against redeath will no longer do, but there is a real danger of getting born inauspiciously, *e.g.* if a hog or *caṇḍāla* should eat the vegetable, and this must be taken care of. Like any other ritual of the brāhmaṇas, it could be taken care of either way, the brāhmaṇa could make or mar and this gives a context for the secrecy. There is no reason for a moral doctrine to be secret, but there is professional tradition that trade secrets are not publicized, and the brahmins were careful about whom they taught.

It will be seen that while the classical moral karma is arguable for this passage, it is not demonstrable, and indeed the pre-moral karma, which if not moral, must be ritual, is preferable. We suspect that the moralization of karma is an achievement of Buddha. It would follow either from the rejection of sacrifice, or from the widening of the idea, the conception of the *ṛta* as the cosmic sacrifice. The effects of karma were undeniable to brāhmaṇas in so far as karman meant ritual action: they might fade, only unlike the modern manufacturer who makes his goods not to last for fear of a slump, the brāhmaṇa was always seeking a rite, karman, that would really last against re-death, *punarmṛtyu*. If life is going to be thought of as a ritual, then all actions will have effects. The doctrine of karma could not be universally acceptable, since it would be unequal if not unjust, until it was moralized. And this is simply done by using the word karma in its generalized and untechnical sense, subsuming all actions, not just ritual ones under the doctrine.

The innate moral sense, the demand that action and reaction should be equal and opposite must be satisfied; yet the unfairness of life, more flagrantly the success of the wicked can only be compensated after death, since most of us have not enough charity to regard death itself as a punishment—it does also punish the good. Yet the moralization of karma is slow, just as the achievement of a universal ethic has always been slow, since the normal course of events is not to object to evil effectively until it affects one's self; the moral indignation necessary can too easily degenerate into self-righteousness, and even if disinterested lose authority as incredible. But in India the obstacle is the intellectual prejudice in favour of knowledge; knowledge is no guarantee of goodness, and certainly has no charity for those who don't have it. The danger of the conceit of knowledge is constantly in the Indian mind; the great Śvetaketu is satirized for it in ChU 6/1.2 there is an interesting gradation lack of conceit in BrU 6/2, his modicum in the parallel (later) ChU 5/10, and good supply in the still later ChU 6/1. Sometimes the moral is pointed in what to us is a puerile way, but the point is genuine; *e. g.* ŚpB XIV 1/1.1ff, TA 5/1.1 ff; Through understanding the sacrifice Viṣṇu became the greatest of the gods; this went to his head, so that he became so puffed up with glory that he became intolerable to his colleagues, but too dangerous to attack. But one day the ants, having been promised the ability to find water even in the desert, undertook to gnaw his bowstring as he lay with his head resting on the bow; it broke with such violence as to cut off his head which became the sun. (Here we might note the amoral conception of deva, there is nothing blasphemous in imagining a god being below the moral ideal. We might also note the folk-story element, in that Visnu has no supernatural powers when they might interfere with the story, he is treated in it as an ordinary human being, who can be tricked when asleep).

As we said, it was hard to moralize karma: indeed it is never fully done, for we find ritual offences or inadvertencies being quite as disastrous as downright wickedness, *e.g.*, Vas. DhS 6 27 a brāhmana who dies with a Śūdra's food in his belly may become a village pig if he is not reborn as a śūdra — caste must be upheld (though we must remember that caste to the Indian is also morality); or in fiction, an inadvertent offence in a past life may involve the hero's misfortune (in this case, the prestige of his perfection is saved).

Yet there is also for one thing the belief that the will at death can control the next transmigration. We saw this in BrU 4/4·4, the soul made for itself an other more beautiful form; in ChU 3/14·1, (*cf* ŚpBX 6/3 1, having how great a will he leaves this world, having just such will on death he enters yonder world), having what will/purpose a man becomes, thus having gone hence (died), he becomes. Dying is a magical state, hence the soul is in nearer and more fearful contact with the supernatural; the modern survival of this idea is the special force felt attached to a wish of the dying. This passage explains the

name Kratujit, attested 880 BC, he who wins his kratu, will, and so will be secure in the next world. But c 200 BC BhG 8·6 the thought at death is still important, and Nāgasena the Buddhist in the Milindapañha of 1st cent. BC can say, 'If I die when I am thinking of life, I will be reborn.'

It is very hard for the ritual and intellectual class to abandon ritual, knowledge, and intellect. It is easiest to abandon ritual, since intellectual ritual can be substituted for it. The effect of ritual acts after death hardly needs illustration; doubtless originally the sacrificial act was enough. So we find ŚpB II 3/3 8-12 (with an unusual threat of many deaths in yonder world) the performer of Agnihotra after sunset, before sunrise escapes the usual fate of men, redeath in the next world, since their good (ritual) deeds wear out. But once knowing the rite became effective, and even once the assertion of knowing sufficed for the act, then the result of the act/sacrifice could only be accurately forecast if one knew the *vidyākarmanī*, the amount of knowledge and rite that went into it. So, another of the innumerable nostrums, all equally decisive, BrU 1/2·7 He who knows that the *arka and aśvamedha* (hymn/ray and horse-sacrifice) are one divinity, death, avoids re-death: 1/5·2 by offering milk for a year — nay, at once the thus-knower escapes re-death. So does he in 3/3·2 who knows *vāyu* (wind, air breath) is individual and collective, *vy- and sam-aṣti*. But who can be sure he is without sin or ritual omission? So in ChU 5/10·10 he who knows the 5 fires thus is not stained by consorting even with the most depraved characters: knowledge may overcome karma. Knowledge of brahma obliterates it in BrU 4/4 22-3; what he has or has not done does not affect the knower.

When we are told that knowledge and ritual determine the reward at death. *e.g.* KausU 1.2, BrU (insertion) 4/4 2, these are not originally co-ordinated paths, but rather alternatives. But while it needed a proper ritual to get going on the path of samsara to a happy return, if any return ceases to be happy, because life is pain, it is easier to drop the ritual and concentrate on knowledge. But knowledge is a brahmin monopoly (or should be), and the human need of hope must return to karma ; most cannot afford the ritual karma, or are not qualified for it: but everyone can perform moral karma, action, (and normally believes he does). We can now see that however tyrannical the idea of karma becomes, it begins as a liberation, and equalizer, just as samsāra did also. The subsequent tyranny begins from the logical extension, the inevitability of fruits of anything definable as action. The moralization of karma is achieved by reducing the ritual, and devaluing the physical; it is a concession to the emotional, the same emotional that when the liberation goes sour, turns to deism.

The physical pleasure must always be depreciated by the intellectual or spiritual. The intellect is not likely to undervalue knowledge, and on knowledge the brāhmaṇa can concentrate. The devaluation of material things is at least

partly pre-Buddhist, and probably totally so for the effective thinking brahmins, though it is undoubtedly popularized by the heresies. So BrU 4/4.22, 'Even good desires like the desire for sons are still desires; one rises above desires.' Or ib.12 'if one knew the Ātman, wanting what, for desire of what would he consume the body (anu-sam-jvar) / seek after a body (-car)?'

But if we do transcend the physical, it is the intellectual that replaces it and knowledge has its reward. Now it does not control the fate in samsāra—that is no longer wanted—but takes you out of it. This is practically the Buddhist (and Jain) position; one is not out of transmigration till enlightenment. This is the stage of BrU 4/4 triṣṭubhs, .8-9, .13-4, .18; (*e.g.* .8, the knowers of brahma go up to the heavenly world released—an old verse is being reused.) As for the rest, the brāhmana who knows and so can win release, does not really have to be interested in them. General statements suffice; so in BrU 4/4.11 those who do not know go to worlds of blind darkness, .19 to death after death. The early Katha U. takes the same position (KathU I or 1/1-3 or 1-3; early 5th cent. BC?), *e.g.* 1/2.6. The fools who deluded with wealth, think there is only this life, die again and again: so also 2/1.2, the fools who go after outward pleasure. Ib.1/3.7 he who has no discrimination, no mind, always dirty, does not get to Brahma's place, but always samsāra, while he who has discrimination and mind, always clean, does and is not reborn (clearly life is not very far from undesirable at this point).

There is an ethical and moralizing strain that demands expression. So in Katha 1/2.23-4 Ātman is not won by much teaching, intellect or scripture, but reveals himself to whom he chooses; nor will he choose anyone who has not ceased from bad conduct, and a man of unpeaceful mind cannot attain ātman by mere intelligence. The moralist is active in (the inserted) BrU 4/4.5, but whether asserting, protesting or arguing is not at first clear. We suggest the reasoning is as follows: The self is made of everything; (it has therefore all potentialities:) one becomes according to his action and behaviour, the good-doer becomes good, the evil-doer evil, quoting 3/2.13. One becomes auspicious by auspicious (rite)/act, inauspicious (bad) by inauspicious (bad) (rite)/act. Objection: The soul depends on the motive (*kāmamaya evāyam puruṣaḥ*, this soul is consisting of/conditioned by the intention only). Answer: According to his desired/intention, so his will; as his will, so his act; as he does, so he becomes. This may just be a statement of the effect of ethical conduct or otherwise on one's self. However, in KathaU 2/2.7 morality and Karma seems to be co-ordinated in determining the next existence; souls enter a stationary or living womb, that is, plant or animal, *yathākarma yathaśrutam*, translated by Hume 'according to their deeds, according to their knowledge', by Radhakrishnan, 'according to their deeds and thoughts'; actually this should surely mean 'according to their deeds, as has been scripturally revealed'.

While karma is moralized, the attempts to systematize the results of various vices, and let the punishment fit the crime are rather grotesque, and can be certainly said to lack humour. If leprosy/skin-disease is the result of fornicating one's teacher's wife, this enormity must have been an exceedingly common crime, and teachers must have seen to it that they always had a young wife. Defiling the teacher's bed is above all a brāhmana crime, hence so unthinkable, but the skin-disease consequent is common enough (Vas. Dhs. 20.43-4): ib. 6.27 accounts for the multitudes of śūdras and village pigs, brāhmaṇas who have had such a poor sense of their duties and privileges as to die with a śūdra's food in their belly: ib 21.11 a brahmin female who drinks *surā*, liquor, becomes a leech or pearl-oyster; and loses her husband. And so on. Manu follows, elaborating considerably in his sūtra, MDhS 12.52-80. No wonder Indian political theorists had so little faith in human nature when so many of the highest caste could be recognized fallen from grace! How soon such systematizing began we cannot say, but it seems to be after Baudhāyana of c 500 BC.

The acceptance of moralized karma by its logical extension leads to the question of free-will, and the nature of the deed; we have just seen the doubt in BrU 4/4.5. Is it only the action that counts, or is it only the motive? It is much easier to save one's prestige with good intentions, and thus we find in Indian stories the good guys' errors are all in ignorance or inadvertence. But if we become good by good action and bad by bad action, since being bad is going to make worse karma, whose fault will it be? Will it not be inevitable? These controversies are being waged in the formative years of the heresies, and Purana Kassapa, (ob. 504 BC?) denies that any actions increase guilt or merit, while Makkhali Gosāla is a rigid determinist (ob. 488). In spite of the fact that Kriyavādas, doctrines that human freedom is possible, have been officially prevalent in orthodoxy and heresy alike, karma has tended in fact to create fatalism and determinism, often of a tragically uncharitable kind, as *e.g.* a widow has an only son, who had a small boy; the boy died age 5; the widow turns on the mother of the child, because it is *her* karma that deprived the widow of her grandchild. Equally uncharitable was the Jewish tendency to 'karma' when the disciples can ask Christ 'Did this man sin, or did his parents?'

Once the doctrine of karma and transmigration is accepted, there becomes remarkably little that gods can do. If they can interfere with karma, there is no order in the universe, or if your karma is good, it won't need gods to help. There is no reason to deny gods save as an unnecessary entity in the explanation of the universe; but as they never did explain the universe, but were rather part of it, this does not apply; indeed the Veda vouches for them and though with the conception of ātman/Brahma they can hardly be held a necessary conception, the brāhmaṇa never rejects. Being in samsāra, they are of no higher essence than ourselves, and therefore there is no need to moralize them. So in the here-

sies also, there is no need to deny brahmanic gods, and in this sense it is ridiculous to say that Buddha was an atheist. Here the gods are just irrelevant to the questions of life; even if they can give a boon, it is only a material boon, which as part of the fettering desire is part of man's own fault anyway. But at least to the popular mind, it is hard to believe that gods don't enjoy themselves, and while the old gods may remain faded, new gods of classical and Purāṇa Hinduism or Buddhism come up from below. So a birth as a god becomes one of the possibilities of samsāra—it takes good karma, and at least later a heretic arhat can enjoy a spell in such a heaven before entering on the last lap—Buddha himself came down from the Tusita heaven.

No proof is ever given of the doctrine of karma. Materialists naturally deny it, Ajitakeśakambalin in Buddha's time, and Cārvākas after. Both seem to be sufficiently refuted by refuting materialism. Such people are reported only by their enemies, and therefore liable to be misreported. So when Pūraṇa Kassapa taught that actions neither increase guilt or merit, he may be saying that knowledge puts one beyond good and evil, as was being taught in his time, (BrU 4/4·23, ChU 5/10 10), or he may be saying that as actions are determined there can be neither merit or demerit. When we remember the complete fatalism of Pūrana's pupil, or successor Gosāla, this latter interpretation should be right; but when we find Pūrana as denying karma any results, we might favour the former.

We should perhaps have said no Cartesian or Euclidean proof is ever given of karma. Scriptural warrant suffices, and we found it already in KathaU 2/2.7 (late 5th or 4th cent.?). Samsāra is equally proved by scripture for Śaṅkara, quoting BrU etc.; but if we must have a rational argument, he points out that karma, the maturation of the fruit of acts, could not work itself out if there was no transmigration. Since no proof is ever given of the effect of karma, Śaṅkara's argument is not self-contained, and the moral demand that Evil must be punished in the doer would be quite satisfied with a Zoroastrian Hell, requiring only that there be an entity after death to suffer. The modern argument against the Christian Hell is basically that the actions of a short time should not be punished for eternity, the reaction is excessive, not equal. But if there is transmigration, then the doctrine of karma can give a simple explanation of any of its manifestations. So neither the other systems before Śaṅkara, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika etc. nor Rāmānuja after him feel under any need to prove what everyone believes. Indeed a karma can be used to explain surprizing things; so Rāmānuja can attribute to karma the fact that the same gives pleasure or pain to different people, or the same person at different times; this effect depends then not on its own nature but on karma. (He does not argue this as a proof of karma.)

But though there is no question of Karma working, there is some argument

among later thinkers on just how it works. So Rāmānuja (12th cent. AD), agreeing with all that karma springs from ignorance, *avidyā*, holds that karma being impermanent cannot be the cause of a permanent fruit such as *mokṣa*, release, is. Hence cessation of karma must be the cause of mokṣa; one must cease from acts. (This is effectively the view also of the Jains.) Karma is impermanent since it is not the collective power of all one's acts like the profit or loss on a company's accounting but the individual power of every act; since we all do good and bad acts, this adequately explains the mixed fortune that most of us have, how even a good man can suffer calamity.

Śaṅkara BrS 3/2 38 seems to say that the fruits of action are not from the action itself, *karmaṇaḥ*, but from God, *Īśvarād*. Jain, Buddhist, Sāṅkhya and Mīmāṁsā would deny this; to them karma works by itself. The difficulty is something like that which arises for Christian and especially Mohammedan on the question, Is God subject to his own laws? If so by the delegated power he is no longer omnipotent; if not the law does not really exist, but is only his continual action in an (arbitrary) way. Śaṅkara argues; The action is past, therefore it does not exist; as non-existing, it is incapable of action, *e nihilo nihil fit*. If you say It only ceases to be on producing the fruit, the fruit is not fruit, *i.e.* does not exist till enjoyed by the experiencer, but the act has ended long since: nor apart from the act is there any substratum in which such a fruit could exist; and if there was, since it would be material and hence non-intelligent, it cou'd not itself produce the action of maturation of fruit. Nor does the existence of the fruit of action prove the continuance of the action's existence, since God, *Īśvara*, is a sufficient explanation of that. There is no suggestion that anyone is going to be so presumptuous as to deny that acts produce fruit.

While karma may be moralized by orthodoxy to meet the challenge of the Buddhist emphasis on conduct, in its application to transmigration, the proof of this last is very different from the cause, which at all times is ignorance, *avidyā*, absence of knowledge, at first ritual knowledge (which would lead to the proper ritual acts, or the not necessarily moral brahma knowledge); but with the rise of the heresies and consequent development of philosophy, the deficiency is in philosophical knowledge, namely that one fails to realize the underlying unity of phenomena, the unreality of appearance; hence one desires the pleasures of appearances, *i.e.* the senses, and this leads to action, *karma*, the fruits of which lead to rebirth. The process is in great likelihood of being a vicious circle; so to Rāmānuja transmigration is the result of *avidyā*, ignorance, due to karma, past actions, and depends on name and form due to the soul's connection with non-sentient matter, which connection springs from good and evil works. Neither Jain or Buddhist would dissent from this statement of the problem, save that the Buddhist would classically insist on the non-continuity of the soul. But in Buddhism also, though the workings of its causal chain (of

12 links or less) are not too easy to understand, it is ordinarily taken that to Buddha saṁsāra is caused by *karma*, acts, which spring from desire/thirst, and this (wrong) desire is due to ignorance, a philosophic ignorance, in this case that there is no ātman. The cause of ignorance is not apparent in the causal chain; it is one of the āsavas, the other two being desire for existence and lust.

But if actions are the cause of action, that must be stopped, at some point we must be able to break into the circle. This can be done by knowledge. But this knowledge is not the mere verbal or intellectual acceptance of a series of verbal propositions corresponding to an objective reality; as in the earlier brāhmaṇa period, we must know by being, and knowledge implies a course of life. But it also practically follows that we cannot practise this knowing by being in ordinary life, it requires renunciation of the world, and so is in fact virtually open only to brahmins or old decrepit men. Hence we heretical monasticism, the quick road to being a brahmin; hence also the attempt of the Gītā to make release, *mokṣa*, available to non-brahmins (and perhaps not less important, non-practising brahmins), people engaged in worldly life, who cannot abandon it, through the doctrines of doing duty without thought of the fruits, and salvation by faith. The former can hark back to BrU 4/4.5, the person is conditioned by the motive, the act is in the motive, and so if there is no motive there will be no act to bear fruit, but brāhmaṇa caste-society can still go on.

The argument if we have all these past existences, why can we not remember them does not seem serious in India. There was an extraordinary case soberly reported in McLeans in 1965 of an Indian child who did know he had been somebody else. But on the one hand, if *manas*, mind, is only an other sense like sight, and so dissolved like our ordinary five, the question why we do not remember presents no difficulty; we do not have the memory any more than the body of our last existence. On the other hand, the great men, released in life, Jīvanmukta, Buddha, Mahāvīra, Gosāla do have such memory; in the omniscience of their enlightenments (but not before), they, and all like them according to their scriptures, do remember their numberless past existences. For ordinary people it is said that the memory is there in embryo, but lost on the pain of birth. Buddha though spared by a miraculous birth did not remember till enlightened. Pythagoras too remembered and recognized his shield as Euphorbus before Troy, and it was left to the scepties to smile. The objection is probably much more serious to the modern mind.

As usual, in the final belief everything is added without much fear of inconsistency. In both Gītā (c. 200) and Mahābhārata (1st cent. BC & AD?) *e.g.* in the story of Jaratkāru, ancestors fall to hell if offerings are not made to them; we still find quoted with serious approval the magical etymology of *putra* = son, so called because he saves his father from the hell called *put* (what would

happen there to father no one ever knew). No attempt is made to fit this doctrine into that of karma and samsāra, though for any event there is the irrefutable and cyclic answer. He/They must have deserved it, or it wouldn't/couldn't have happened. This does disturb an Āpastambīya in ApDhS II 9/24.13, who asks if ancestors fall to hell by their descendents' misdemeanours, why are the 7 ṛṣis (Pleiades) still patently visible in heaven?

Theories of punishment, or rather, schemes, seem also to be added rather than co-ordinated. So manu tells us that one who steals milk becomes a vulture, one who steals sour milk becomes a crane. This however would not set him off again in human life with a clean slate; he would be born in a human womb of the appropriate scale of demerit. So on the plus side, in MBh & BhG the dead stay in the world of the pitṛs till their merit is exhausted, and are then reincarnated in accordance with that same merit. So in the rather confused Manu DhS 12.18-24 (2nd cent. AD) after the appointed torment one seems to be free of stains, and again enters the 5 elements, *i.e.* is reborn; but there is no indication of him now getting a fair chance. Karma can only be exhausted in this life as a human. Presumably a hen can't work off its karma because it is incapable of suicide; the animal is inevittably under animal instincts, which are themselves the cause of fresh karma: this will be so even though the animal is performing its dharma, duty, of eating and being eaten, and propagating—indeed an animal could hardly not perform its dharma.

It does not look as if Manu thinks the animal state is any reward. one is even threatened with becoming the animals one has eaten. And literature does not record any joyful anticipation of becoming even a cow. Yet by transmigration, there is an equation of animal and man, which is very important in its consequences for Indian ethos. There is no question of animals being made for the benefit of man, or man having sovereignty over them. Yet as in much social levelling, the result is rather to degrade man than raise animals. One might say the child's attitude to them remains; this is shown by the animal Jātakas and fables, which are certainly from the popular levels of thought; and if it is said that animal satires are always politically/ideologically safer, this is only part of the story in India. By the child animals are conceived as behaving very much as human beings, and though there is much wisdom, and even co-operation in nature, the animal stories have only a very faint realism; the interest in animals does not lead to any science or natural history. It is essentially an emotional interest, not a rational one, and in this sense one of the indulgences that strengthen sexual interest of Indian society. The procreative is conspicuously animal, and while it may be well not to have a guilt about it, some other inhibition is necessary. Indulgence removes the need of sublimation, and in lack of guilt also removes the inhibition of respect. In insisting on the equality of man with

animal, we also emphasize the animal nature of man, and throwing him back into the competition of nature, deny his title to respect, and also reduce woman to the tool, since the instinct demands her submission. The frank enjoyment of sex may be highly modern, but it does very little for its devotees; neither men nor women gain by it, since it must be selfish. This is true of any interest that is essentially sexual, and not sublimated. So the Indian interest in the procreative life, exemplified in the animal world, did nothing for animals, and very little for man, who has frequently suffered economic and health loss in the cause, *e.g.* animal damage to crops, overgrazing by diseased cows, etc. Yet animal worship, perhaps paradoxically, is not Indian — they were no more worth it than man, or even these other creatures of samsāra, the old Vedic gods. •

It might be said that the belief in karma and samsāra removes urgency from human life, as it removes tragedy. If all is just, and even injustice can be argued as deserved, where is the reason for initiative? Injustice may be condemned in the doer, as *a-sat*, not good, but not from love of the victim. If everyone must cope with his own karma, how can there be help or salvation? The Jains agree that there can be none, as did the Hinayana Buddhists, and the orthodox protest is found in the theisms. It is not possible to forge in a rationally justifiable connection between souls; for while compassion may be admirable in us, it cannot affect the maturing karma of our neighbour, which is unalterable.

Here again we have a paradox, for while we might say the logical conclusion of this ideology should be, 'Everyone for himself, ending in an extreme individualism, the only individualism that has in fact been encouraged is that of renunciation.' If one is going to be someone else tomorrow, it cannot be of great importance to be himself today; any self is equally an illusion, hence there can be no compulsion for its individual expression. There is no danger of being annihilated, which is the great fear of modern man. Just as the Christian or Islamic believer could be sure of paradise, and so scorn death, so the Indian might have a less agreeable prospect, but no greater cause for fearing death, if his future was not very promising, his past had not had that much to recommend it, since life is pain.

But while this pessimism of karma is well-known, we must also remember that karma is never final. Āpastamba (c. 200 BC) can say (DhS II 5/11 10-1) that people of low caste will be reborn in higher if they do caste and ritual duties — better one's own done badly than another's well —, and not less gratifying to human nature, those of high caste will be reborn low if they fail in theirs. Gosāla had taught that all creatures progress to perfection (inevitably, and over an almost infinite time); the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is going to save all; and Śaṅkara knows a view (perhaps under Buddhist influence) that

gradually all souls will attain release. In a brahmanic world this guarantees them good caste status on the way. Hope may be taken as a promise by the poor; and while we may have brahmins satirized in the popular literature, and fables and proverbs may be unsparing of men in all classes, there is no sign of dissatisfaction with the conception of karma allied to samsāra. Its argument may be circular, just as the universe is cyclical, but it proved a satisfactory circle, socially and intellectually, even if emotionally we hear the rumblings of impatience.

JĪVA, ITS MOVEMENT AND UPLIFT

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From the experiences of the past, as revealed through authoritative texts and personal experiences of the great ancient seers (ṛṣis), it is found that the whole universe consists of only two elements, called *Tattva* or energy. It may be given any name by the scientists or the philosophers of the world. The two *Tattvas* are (1) *Cetana* (Conscious Energy) which is eternal, ubiquitous (vyāpaka), omniscient (sarvajña), omnipotent (sarvaśaktimāt), omnipresent (sarva-viśva-vyāpin) transcendent (viśvātīta) and imminent (āsanna-vartin). It is no doubt, an all-powerful, permanent and eternal force, but is inactive (niṣkriya) by its very nature. (2) The other entity, called *Prakṛti*, is also equally eternal, ubiquitous and omnipresent, but is inert (jaḍa-Inert Energy). It is the state of equilibrium of the three forces—*Sattva* (Force of Light), *rajas* (Force of motion) and *tamas* (Force of inertia) when unmanifest (avyakta), but comes to manifest ultimately the five bhūtas (substances), namely—ākāśa, vāyu, tejas, water and earth. These three forces are most essential for the existence in this universe. So the Lord also had to take recourse to all those (*Gītā*, IV-6). Even then it is ever in motion. It is, therefore, that the Lord has said (*Bhagavadgītā*, II-5) "No object remains actionless even for a moment; every object (except *cetana*) is forced to do action under the impulsive force of the Nature, which consequently, is also itself ever in motion.

Both these two energies (Tattvas) have ever been in existence independent of each other. Though none of these two is aware of the presence of the other, yet it is a fact that both of these unconsciously, receive mutual assistance to help the existence and functioning of the universe together with all its constituents. They are also not aware if there is any relation of whatsoever nature between them. However, it is a fact that the *Inert Energy* gets impulse and remains in motion because of the indifferent inducement (preraṇā) of the *Conscious-Energy*. Thus, it is obvious that one is a conscious and permanent, eternal and indifferent force of inducement, while the other is induced due to the very presence of the Conscious Energy; though by nature it itself is inert, yet, it is ever in motion and makes the entire world move for the good of the Jīvas occupying every space in the universe.

Under the influence of these two energies, for the good of the Jīvas, a third element called *Bindu* comes to exist and thus produces the first triangular form (trikoṇākṛti) in the universe. These elements again, subsequently, give rise to the infinite forms (ākṛtis—organic and inorganic) which are being produced incessantly in the universe. On examining these forms, it is evident that there is some sort of natural force coming out of the various subsequent lower

elements, namely, earth, water, tejas, air, and ākāśa, to group the articles of the organic or inorganic bodies, helped under the *Law of Affinity* in order to form different objects. The grouping itself is also under certain definite influence of the past. The elements do not group by chance; they are all related as cause and effect. Of these forms, those which become organic immediately and simultaneously manifest consciousness and are called Jīvas. Unless the grouping of the elements forms the organic bodies, they do not serve any obvious purpose of the universe, either for themselves or for others.

The Lord who rules over the universe has nothing to do in this universe for himself. He is *Āptakāma* and *Ātmārāma*. He does not take any active and partial part (āṁśika) in the forming of the organic bodies and creation of the universe. The universe goes on and on even without any active inclination of the Lord. The Lord is, however, very eager to uplift the jīvas. He is the *uddhārakartṛ*, so His omnipresence, either in full bloom and vigour or in part (aṁśa) is ever ready to let the grouping continue in accordance with the past deeds of the experiencing (bhoktṛ) Jīvas, till eternity for the good of the Jīvas themselves. Without *bhoga* the Jīvas cannot be free from miseries. And yet there is no end to the universe. It goes on, followed by another, till eternity under the influence of the endless and beginningless deeds of the Jīvas and the *vāsanās* produced thereafter from them.

Thus, it is evident that the grouping is the most important factor. The various elements which form the body group together with some definite purpose. This, again, is due to some previous force. As this is continuous and moves like a wheel without any end, it assumes indefinite forms in accordance with the nature of the purpose to be served by the groupings. So naturally one group is different from the other. There is also difference of degree among them, such as—highest, higher and high and lowest, lower and low, and, likewise, those occupying the midway places in the universe. These differences in degree are also due to the nature of the past deeds of the Jīvas.

Again, the force inducing the grouping from behind is itself the result of some previous force, called *Vāsanā*, which again, itself is the product of the past deeds of the Jīvas. This process is beginningless and endless. It was, therefore, that the Lord has said to Arjuna (*Bhagavadgītā*, IV. 5) that both of them have assumed endless forms in the past and certainly, will assume forms without number in future also. These forms change from time to time experience the result of their past deeds. Again, as these deeds and their *Vāsanās* never totally disappear from the universe so the Jīvas also never disappear for ever. Nothing is lost; whatever exists does remain somewhere and in some form or other in the universe. So we can easily understand that all those various forms of Jīvas, such as, those of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha, Yājñavalkya, and others who were present in the past ages are still present in some form or the other.

Similarily, even ordinary Jīvas retain thin existence after their death in some form or the other. If they have great *tapas*, they must assume some higher organic forms. Again, as they had done from time to time different kinds of actions in their lives, they must appear in the universe in different forms from time to time in order to reap the fruits of those deeds through some congenial process required by the force of their deeds. We should not forget that action of the life of a Jīva is never lost. Hence, like the performance of the incessant deeds, the Jīvas have to assume forms without number in different places and at different times in accordance with the nature of those deeds to facilitate their respective *bhoga*. Sometimes the higher Jīvas have to take help of even *kāyavyūha* process to exhaust their *bhoga*. But that is immaterial as far as the mundane activity is concerned. Even if some Jīvas become *mukta*, their number in the universe is never reduced; they are *ananta*. Even the Lord Himself has said in the *Gītā* (VII. 4-5) that He has to assume various forms in the universe from time to time for the benefit of the Jīvas.

The nature and strength of these forms of Jīvas can be determined in various ways— (1) by performing austere penances in order to become a ṛṣi by virtue of which alone one can visualise the truth, like so many ṛṣis of the past, (2) by observing the actions of the Jīvas, as it was with the case of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and others, by ordinary persons, and lastly, through the yogic powers of the *pūrvajāta-jñāna* (*Yogasūtra*, III.18) by which also one can know all the previous facts of the previous birth of a Jīva; like Āvaṭya and Jaigīṣavya. These Jīvas of higher or lower grade, are moving about all the time in the universe in some form or the other, sometimes even without a visible form with the help of the rays of the sun even. One can easily, if he likes, perceive them through some *tapascaryā* or yogic *siddhis* achieved previously. There have been persons even in the modern times who get vision of the Jīvas, higher or lower, of the past. For all this one has to possess *śraddhā*, *ātmaviśvāsa*, faith in Īśvara and remain rigidly following the rules of conduct, prescribed for the life of a pure Jīva. He must abstain at least from taking dirty and adulterated food and drink, which mainly produce *Buddhi* and *manas*.

Some people are very eager to have a vision of higher or lower Jīvas— either for their good or for the benefit of the suffering Jīvas. The action may be explained in brief in the following manner: if the perceiving Jīva belongs to a higher status and is conscious of his spiritual force, he may relieve some other formerly higher Jīvas now fallen and having come to assume the organic body of some lower Jīva or any creature by force of their evil deeds in the past births, from the miseries fallen upon them. The perceiving Jīvas even with a little sympathetic look finish the miserable life of that fallen higher Jīva and make him resume his previous higher form. So has been said in the Yogaśāstra that even a human being by doing some evil deeds may fall down to assume the organism

of a lower creature in the next birth after death, but he can be freed by the intervention of a living higher personality. This will indeed be a case of *Delivarence* and thereby, he will be serving the best cause of the universe. If such Jīvas are freed in a large number, the latter, can, in return, do much benefit to the universe. Then it has to be noted that for the delivercnce the *uddhāraka* or jñānī person concerned must have a very great spiritual force at his disposal. He will have to lose a portion of his spiritual power in making the other suffering Jīva free from miseries. We, in India, are quite aware of the fact that the result of the spiritual actions are easily transferred to others and thereby the miseries are removed or lessened to a certain degree. This is not a very difficult task. It is very common in our life. So it does not appear to be strange for us. But even then ordinarily no spiritually higher Jīva would like to use his own powers for the benefit of others howsoever great or small he may be, at large. Every Jīva is busy with his own-self. It is therefore, the Upaniṣads say that one should free oneself from the worldly bondage. But this does not exclude the possibility of the actions of the spiritually higher Jīvas in transferring the results of bad deeds of the other Jīvas upon their own shoulders for the good of others and exhausting them at the cost of their own powers. The lost powers will be compensated by further more austere penances This may be again, through the *preraṇā* of the Lord who is alone the *Uddhārakartā* and is also present in everything.

It has to be kept in mind that ordinarily, even the higher Jīvas Present in this world, in any organic form, are not able to achieve any extraordinary result with great success through their present bodies Their present body is also a product of their past deeds through which alone they can do some definite action for some definite purpose. It is limited in powers and can function for other only to a limited extent. All this is obvious from their day to day action. Then again, in order to make them assume their lost original higher form at the risk of their spiritual power and do some better deeds or help the universe in the realisation of peace or bliss, it is necessary to change the world order as was done by Viśvāmitra and others in the past. But this is almost impossible at present and if tried even to a little extent may have a great clash with the *Natural order* in the world, for the *Nature* may not help him at present. The Jīvas come to the universe for some definite purpose with definite congenial facilities.

Lastly, it may be pointed out that those who indulge in the task of *deliverance* will be fighting against the *laws of Nature*. *Nature* has produced the Jīvas and is giving them unobstructed passage for their long journey in order to make them free from miseries and bondage; and if anybody comes to put obstacles in their way, he will have to bear the consequences upon himself. If he happens to be the highest Jīva, like Rāma or Kṛṣṇa, he will be glad to do so and his action will be helped even by the laws of Nature. It is therefore, that the Lord

Himself said in the *Gītā* (XI-66) that all the Jīvas should take shelter in Him and He will relieve them from all the miseries. In case the delivering Jīva is of lower grade, he will fail to do any good to others and may ruin himself. One thing has been noticed that such deliverance is beneficial in cases of spiritual uplift, but the agency fails to achieve any success if he applies his powers for the material welfare.

No doubt, the Lord alone is *Svatantra* (independent), and is not by His nature interested in any action, even then under the influence of His own Māyā. He is the doer also. So has He said Himself—"Though I am not the doer, nor am I perishable, yet as far as the creation of the four castes is concerned, know Me as the doer" (*Gītā*, IV. 13) Again, under the same influence the Lord appears as Jīva in this universe. This Jīva within the limitations of Māyā manifests itself for *bhoga* of the results of the deeds of its past births and as such, it is under the force of its *Prārabdha-Karman* that it exists in this universe. But again, as it is the *aṁśa* of the Lord (mamaivāṁśo Jīva-loke Jīvabhūtaḥ sanātanaḥ, *Gītā*, XV-7) It is also *svatantra*, to a certain extent and so it is capable of doing fresh deeds (Kriyamāṇa) for future. If the circumstances and facilities provided to the Jīva and if the Jiva is in good company all with good intentions (*bhāvaśuddhi*), so much so that the Lord ultimately asks the Jīva to take shelter under Himself leaving everything. All that the Jīva does will certainly lead it to the *Parama-Dhāma* wherefrom the Jīva never returns to this universe (*Gītā*, VIII-21). Thus, even being in bondage and experiencing the results of its past deeds (Prārabdha-Karma), the Jīva has some independence by which it can ultimately, uplift and release itself for ever. But one must remember that he will have to lead a very pure life, keep himself aloof from dirty habits, food and drink which are at the root of all our miseries and follow the rules of good conduct very rigidly and make his subtle body light in order that it can easily move upward (ūrdhvagatiśīla). Without following the conditions of *Tapas*, the Jīva can never achieve the highest aim of its life, No doubt, the Jīva has to undergo great hardships, but no good can ever accrue without *Tapas* (Tejas), life of hardship, which alone can destroy its dirt, so has been said by the Lord—Jñānāgniḥ Sarva-Karmāṇi bhasmasāt kurute tathā (*Gītā*, IV. 37).

DEVAYÁNT- AND DEVAYÚ

By

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As is well known the meanings of the many religious and philosophical terms occurring in Vedic texts as given in our dictionaries are often inexact or no longer abreast of the times. It would for instance appear to me that the sense of the participle *devayant-* is not exactly " religious, loving or serving the gods " (Monier—Williams), " den Göttern dienend, sie verehrend " (Grassmann), " sich and die Götter haltend, den Göttern dienend, fromm " (Petr. Dict.), " fromm, gottergeben, gottverlangend " (Geldner)—translations which suggest a more or less permanent quality or trait of character—, but rather " approaching, turning to, applying to, the gods by ritual means, whilst executing the rites, in order to come into contact with them, to make an appeal to them, to influence them, to invoke their help or co-operation ". The difference may appear to be slight and the more or less traditional translations hardly worth disputing, —semantic accuracy however is a *conditio sine qua non* for a right understanding of the texts, and from the religious point of view this difference is not to be neglected.

The word occurs 50 times in the Ṛgveda, in 12 cases in an opening stanza. There is one occurrence of the negated *adevayant-* (translated by " godless " Geldner), in opposition to *devayant-* (2, 26, 1).

In injunctions and adhortations to start the performance of the rites a shade of meaning " pious, devout " is in itself less acceptable than " making an appeal to the gods " : 3, 6, 1 stimulates the reciters to fetch, *devayantaḥ*, the indispensable sacrificial ladle (Sāyaṇa explains by *devakāmāḥ* which means " longing for the gods " rather than " pious "). In 1, 40, 1 *út tiṣṭha brahmanas pate devayántas tvemahe*, lit. " rise, O Brahmaṇaspati, applying (to thee) we approach to thee with prayers " the participle and the principal verb reinforce each other, the former indicating the particular nature of the approach. The poet continues (st. 2) *tvā́m íd dhí. . . . mártya upabrūté dháne hité* " for thou art invoked by the mortal man when a prospect of valuable objects is held out ". These valuables are, of course, to be obtained through the rites. The preparation and erection of the sacrificial stake which is, in 3, 8, 1, said to be anointed by the *devayantaḥ* (*devān kāmayamānā adhvaryādayaḥ*, Sāyaṇa) in order to provide those speaking with valuable objects, is likewise a ritual act. In 7, 43, 1 the term cannot but apply to the singers, reciters or inspired poets (*viprāḥ*, Sāyaṇa), whose task it is to praise, on the occasion of the sacrifice, heaven and

earth, that these divine powers may come: *prá vo yajñéṣu devayánto arcan...* An unambiguous place is also 1, 36, 1 *prá vo...viśā'ṃ devayantī'nām | agníṃ sūktébhir vácobhir īmahe yáṃ sīm íd anyá ī'ḷate* "we (*i. e.* the eulogists) approach on your (their patrons') behalf, with well recited words, Agni ... (the lord) of the clans who turn to the gods, (Agni) who is also implored by others": the *devayantaḥ* obviously are engaged in praising and invoking as well as preparing the sacrifice.

The *devayantaḥ* who are said in 5, 1, 4 to turn to the gods like the eyes of men to the sun are no doubt sacrificers and (or) officiants: cf. st. 1 and 2 mentioning the awakening of the god and the approaching morning rites. The tradition (Anukramaṇikā) that ṚV. 10, 13 is devoted to the two 'oblation receptacles' (*i. e.* the vehicles in which the soma plants are conveyed to be pressed) is in all probability correct; in st. 2 those who desire to praise and to worship the gods (*mā'nuṣā devayántaḥ : devakāmāḥ ... yajamānāḥ*, Sāyaṇa) are said to bring them forward in order to serve as a seat for soma. In the Agni hymn 10, 91, 9 it reads: "those who worship thee choose just thee, O Agni, as the sacrificial priest, ... when the *devayantaḥ* (or, perhaps, they being *devayantaḥ*) dish up pleasant food for thee, men who offer oblations and have spread the sacrificial grass (to receive the gods)", here Sāyaṇa is no doubt right: *devān yaṣṭuṃ stotum icchantaḥ*. His explication of 10, 17, 7 is similar; here the goddess Sarasvatī is invoked while the ceremonies are performed on the sacrificial place (*adhvaré tāyámāne*). These words are followed by the prayer that the goddess may grant valuable objects to the man who is disposed to give to the gods (*dāśuṣe*[1]). The same person is also indicated by the term *sukṛt-* "performing one's religious (ritual) duties well and gaining merit by doing so"[2]. According to Kauśika 81, 39 the stanzas 7-9, which also belong to the funeral texts of the Atharvaveda (18, 1, 41-43), are to be recited when the pyre is burning. The sūkta ṚV. 10, 30, the so-called *aponaptrīyam*, is to accompany the ceremony of fetching the water needed for the preparation of the soma. In the final stanza (15), describing the arrival of the waters at the sacrificial place, the poet says that they have sat down, being *devayantīh*. Following Sāyaṇa Geldner translates "gottverlangend". Anyhow, the waters turn to the god, whilst attending the rites. There can be no doubt whatever that the "gottergeben" (*devayantīh*) human clans which whilst offering libations (*prayasvatīḥ*) invoke Agni's flames (ṚV. 3, 6, 3) are, in point of fact, described as sacrificing or performing ritual work, not as being, in a general sense, pious or devout. That these mortal beings attempted to win over the same god who removes hostility to their side by means of their inspired hymns and eulogies appears from 4, 11,

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[1] Cf. L. Renou, Études Védiques et pāṇinéennes, III, Paris 1957, p. 16.

[2] I refer to my treatise 'World and heaven in the Veda', which is to be published by the Amsterdam Academy, Ch. XI.

5: *tvā'm agne prathamáṃ devayánto devám mártā ... ā' vivāsanti dhībhih* (*devān icchantaḥ*, Sāyaṇa).

In 4, 2, 17 those who kindle and fan the flames of the sacrificial fire are described as *sukármāṇaḥ surúco devayántaḥ* " expert performers of rites, ' shining brightly ' and making an appeal to the divine powers ". As the second adjective is as a rule used to characterize gods (Agni, *cf.* 1, 112, 1 ; Bṛhaspati, 1, 190, 1) Geldner's[3] opinion that the poet refers to the eulogists who are identified with the Aṅgirases might be modified: the poet describes the Aṅgirases, the mythical divine ancestors of the priests who reiterate, nowadays, the activity of these prototypical officiants, an activity which, belonging to the mythical past, is exemplary and replete with power. The Aṅgirases[4] are Indra's and Agni's friends (3, 31, 3; 4, 1, 12 etc.); being sons of the gods or sons of heaven, they were also, in ancient times, seers and sacrificers. Accompanied by Indra they opened the stall and drove out the cows (Vala myth). A translation " pious " or " devout " would be out of tune here. In 9, 97, 46 the pressed soma juices are said to have streamed forth like the desire of the *devayantah kā'mo ná yó devayantā'm ásarji*): it is true that this effusion may in itself be attributed to any devout worshipper,[5] but in this soma hymn and especially in the group of stanzas to which the above words belong this interpretation is hardly worth considering. That the *devayantah* are actively occupied with the performance of the rites appears also from 1, 173, 4 *prá cyautnā'ni devayántah bharante* " the d. ' bring forward ' their enterprises (*devān ātmana icchanto yajamānāḥ*, Sāyaṇa). In 9, 74, 8 the soma juices are said to have entered the pitcher while those who in their heart turn to the gods are hurrying along (*ā hinvire manasā devayantaḥ*, Sāyana). Geldner[6] rightly compared 1, 77, 3 cd *tam* (Agni) *médheṣu prathamáṃ devayántīr víśa úpa bruvate dasmám árīḥ* with 8, 6, 27 *táṃ* (Indra) *tvā haviṣmatīr víśa úpa bruvata ūtáye*. In both cases the (Aryan) clans invoke the god, in the middle of a sūkta, or entreat him to assist them. The clans are respectively characterized as " offering oblations " and " turning to the gods " (*devān ātmana icchantyaḥ*, Sāyana).

The assumption seems to be warranted that the *devayan* and *adevayan* in 2, 26, 1 are the man who worsphipping and sacrificing actually applies to the gods and the man who does not. The former will, according to the text (pāda b), surpass the latter. Nay, he will, now denoted by the term *yajvā* " worshipper, sacrificer " (pāda d), distribute the objects of enjoyment of him who does not worship. Truthfulness, speaking in accordance with the essence of things is characteristic of a worshipper: he who states facts in the right way will pre-

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[3] K. F. Geldner, Der Rig-veda, I[2], Cambridge Mass. 1951, p 418.

[4] See e.g. A. A. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 142 f.

[5] Thus also Renou, o.c., IX, Paris 1961, p. 50.

[6] Geldner, o.c., 1, p 100.

vail over those who attack him (pāda a); he who is very attentive will overcome his enemy (pāda c). Compare 2, 25, 1: the man who kindles the sacrificial fire is said to prevail over those who plot against him; who cultivates the brahman and offers oblations will prosper. The same sense may therefore be adopted in 1, 41, 8 *mā' vo ghnántam mā' śápantam práti voce devayántam*, the more so as in 1, 40, 7 the devayant- who is protected against animosity is followed by a reference to the man who has spread the sacrificial grass. These two persons may very well be identical. ṚV. 7, 69, 4 the Aśvins, "whose chariot must approach" the *víśo devayántīḥ* (st. 1 and 2), are said to assist and favour the sacrificers who again are referred to by the same term. The *víśaḥ* of st. 2 no doubt are clans engaged in the performance of sacrificial ceremonies (*yajamānān prati*, Sāyana); *cf.* st. 3 inviting the gods to partake of the food and st. 5 imploring them to bring welfare and happiness on the occasion of "this sacrifice" (*yajñe*). From the context it appears that those who in 6, 1, 7 approach, well-possessed of vision (*sudhyaḥ*), Agni in order to establish between the god and themselves a friendly relation (*sumnāyavaḥ*) are also engaged in the performance of rites: in st. 6 the god is said to have taken his seat on the sacrificial place. Stanza 2 admits of the same interpretation: Agni sat down at the place of refreshment and the *náraḥ*... *devayántaḥ* approached him, attentive and desirous of the great treasure.

A sidelight is also thrown on the relation between the *devayantah* and the god or gods to whom they turn by the Aśvin hymn 4, 44, 5 *mā' vām anyé ní yaman devayántaḥ sáṃ yád dadé nā'bhiḥ pūrvyā' vām*. After st. 4, which is an urgent request to partake of the sacrificial meal offered by those on behalf of whom the eulogist is speaking, and preceding st. 6 in which the god, who has always been proclaimed by these eulogists, is besought to give them many sons, st. 5 expresses the wish that no other worshippers may detain him because those speaking have first claim on his friendship. For a similar invitation see 7, 69 6. From Geldner's translation of 1, 190, 2 it is not perfectly clear that the words which come to Bṛhaspati are the ritual formulas and eulogies (*cf.* st. 1; 3) of which this god is the lord and generator (2, 23, 1; 2) Bṛhaspati, moreover, favours and protects the sacrifice (10, 35, 11; 128, 7) as he also promotes man's invitations to the gods (6, 73, 2). Sāyaṇa: *yajamāna-*.

Interestingly enough, the participle may also accompany words for the eulogies (*gíro matáyaḥ*) which go to the god (*agníṃ yanti*) and ask for wealth (7, 10, 3); they approach the god as rivals (7, 18, 3). Sāyaṇa (on 7, 10, 3) not incorrectly gives *devān icchantyah*. Here also the meaning obviously is "turning to the god(s) and attempting to come into contact with him (them)". The eulogies, songs and recitations mentioned in these texts were, as far as we know, recited or executed as an element of the rites, not to voice the pious feelings of individuals outside the sacrificial sphere. The *devayantaḥ* who are in 1, 6, 6 alluded to in connection with the recitation of ritual stanzas which invite

the god Indra must therefore be active participants in the ritual activities. When therefore Agni is (10, 69, 7) expected to radiate among the Sumitras, this family, being described as *devayantaḥ*, is in this context also represented as sacrificing: cf. st. 1; 3; 4. A considerable part of the final stanzas of the sūktas attributed to Medhātithi (1, 12-23) are characterized by an appeal to the gods to accept the eulogies (1, 12, 12), an invitation (1, 13, 12), a prayer to comply with the wishes of the eulogists (1, 16, 9), a request to protect them (1, 21, 6) and other addresses of a decidedly ritual character. When therefore Agni is (1, 15, 12) asked to worship the gods (*devā'n.... yaja*) on behalf of the *devayant*—this word seems, here also, to refer to those actually engaged on the sacrificial ground. Similarly 3, 10, 7; 3, 29, 12. In 5, 21, 1 the *devayant*—(*devakāmāya yajamānāya*, Sāyaṇa) is compared to Manu, who is repeatedly mentioned, not as a pattern of devotion or godliness, but as an ancient and exemplary sacrificer: 1, 31, 10; 1, 26, 4; cf. 8, 23, 13; 8, 10, 2 the sacrifice is said to have been prepared for him, and in 10, 100, 5 he is even identified with it. Agni who, as is well known, is frequently described as a priest is (10, 46, 10) not only addressed as the bearer of the oblations and requested to grant the eulogist strength, but also, as a *devayant*, given precedence. Sāyaṇa is not wrong in identifying the *devayantah* who 1, 9, 19 accord precedence to the Aśvins when the soma stalks are milked like cows and the songs are chanted, with the *ṛtvijah* (sacrificial priests). Likewise occupied in the ritual sphere are those mentioned in 7, 2, 5 who being *devayantaḥ* (*devakāmā yajamānāḥ*, Sāyaṇa) open the doors for the divine powers. In 3, 8, 4 the inspired sages are said to set up the sacrificial stake. While being in their minds full of inspired thoughts (*dhīrāsah*) and being occupied with sacrificial work for the gods (*devayantah*). The adjective *dhīrāsah* characterizes the sages as having received the vision and inspiration needed for a successful performance of the rites. The same sages are in st. 5 described as performing (ritual) work (*apasah*) and the *viprah* ("inspired priestly eulogist") raises his voice while being *devayāh* "turning to the gods". Geldner[7] may be right in assuming a case of hypallage (the voice goes to the gods)[8]. In st. 6 those who dig in the stake or fashion it with the axe are again qualified as *devayantah*.

In explaining 1, 115, 2 *yátrā náro devayánto yugā'ni vitanvaté* Sāyaṇa wavers between three possibilities. These words, he argues, mean, either: when the sun rises the sacrificers who wish to worship this luminary (*devam ... sūryaṃ yaṣṭum icchantaḥ*) "spread" the oblations to Agni etc., *yuga-* being a word for "time" and for "the (ritual) work to be performed at a definite time", or the (future) sacrificers are going to plough in order to earn 'money' for the rites, or *yugāni* means *yugmāni*, sc. *bhūtvā*, *i. e. patnībhiḥ sahitāḥ*. The second inter-

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[7] Geldner, o.c., 1, p. 346.

[8] Compare, in connection with *devayu-*, ṚV. 8, 12, 11 (see also my book 'The vision of the Vedic poets', The Hague 1963, p. 186 f.).

pretation was in substance followed by Geldner[9] whose explication was: "every morning the pious ones begin a new day's work". As, however, this explication conflicts with the above usage of the participle, Windisch[10] and Oldenberg[11] may be followed in taking *yugāni* 'metaphorically'. The sacrifice is indeed often described as a vehicle (see *e.g* 7, 34, 5)[12]. Then the *devayantaḥ* are said to be engaged, in the early morning, with "putting the horses" before the vehicle, that is the daily rites. When the poet of 1, 121 puts, in stanza 1ᵃ, the 'rhetorical' question whether Indra is the worthy and competent recipient for the *devayantaḥ*, he no doubt intends to say: the right recipient of the eulogies and oblations: compare st. 1ᵇ "will he hear the praise of the Aṅgirases?" and 1ᵈ mentioning the sacrificial session. Those who describe themselves as starting a eulogy are in 7, 73, 1 at the same time *devayantaḥ*. As such they praise the Aśvins: *práti stómaṃ devayánto dádhānāḥ*. The term may also apply to those who formerly or for the first time introduced new ritual methods: thus 7, 47, 1 to the officiants (*adhvaryavaḥ*, Sāyana) who had, for the first time, made the water a draught for Indra. In stanza 2 those who *hic et nunc*, *i. e.* under the circumstances described, on the actual sacrificial place, are desirous of water call themselves likewise *devayantaḥ*. Interestingly enough, the term under discussion is in 1, 139, 3 used to qualify the *āyavaḥ* who are "ritual officiants, eloquent *viprāh* (*i.e.* inspired priestly seers), makers of mantras, preparing the soma and the fire for the yajña-ceremony"[13]: these officiants are, in this stanza, said to invite the Aśvins with their hymns of praise.

In the Atharvaveda the word applies (12, 3, 18) to the rice which is ceremoniously prepared during the sava rites[14]: the pestle with which the rice is pounded is requested not to crush to pieces the rice-grain which turns to, or is to come into contact with, the gods: *mā' tandulám vi śárair devayántam*. This sacrificial substance is by the ritual acts to be transubstantiated and divinized and made the means by which the sacrificer is enabled to transcend the limitations of the finite human condition; it has by the Creator-god himself been transformed into the heavenly abodes in which the sacrificer is to enjoy the fruits of his ritual merits.[15] The author of AV. 7, 27, 1 uses the participle in the usual way: the *devayantaḥ* purify themselves in Iḍā's footsteps: the Vaitānasūtra (3, 15) has this stanza accompany a libation to Iḍā in the parvan ceremonies.

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[9] Geldner, o c, I, p. 152.

[10] E. Windisch, in Festgruß an O Böhtlingk, 1888, p. 118.

[11] H. Oldenberg, Ṛgveda, Textkritische und exegetische Noten, I, Berlin 1909, p. 107.

[12] I refer to my paper 'Adhvara-', Vishveshvaranand Indol. Journal, 3, p. 163 ff.

[13] H. W. Bailey, in Bull. School Or. and Afr. Studies 20 (London 1957), p. 41 ff.

[14] See my book The Savayajñas, Amsterdam Academy 1965, esp. p. 81; 148.

[15] The Savayajñas, p. 31 ff.; 38.

The words *agne préhi prathamó devayatā'm* (VS. 17, 69 a; TS. 4, 6, 5, 2 a; ŚB. 9, 2, 3, 28 etc.) were far from incorrectly translated by Griffith[16]): "Foremost of those who seek the gods......" and by Eggeling[17] : "first of the godward-going"; Keith[18] preferred: "first of worshippers".

The adjective *devayú-*[19], which occurs beside the participle, expresses the same sense. Thus it combines with *yajamāna-* and *sunvāna-* "the one who presses soma" (ṚV. 8, 31, 16). In 10, 51, 5 mention is made of the mánur devayūḥ who wishes to sacrifice (*yajñákāmaḥ*). From ṚV. 6, 3, 1 f. it appears that the *devayu-* is the man who has sacrificed and exerted himself in matters of ritual interest. For the sense of the term in 5, 48, 2 which is at first sight vague and general, compare st. 3 showing that here again a sacrificer is meant. So he is in 1, 83, 2 *prācair devā'saḥ prá nayanti devayúm.* In 5, 34, 5 d the *devayu-* is clearly contrasted with the man who does not press soma in pāda b. Cf. also RV. 4, 2, 7; 4, 9, 1; 6, 28, 2; 7, 93, 4; 8, 103, 7; 9, 11, 2; 9, 96, 24; 10, 106, 3. From 1, 154, 5 it appears that the successful sacrificers who revel in the presence of the god are likewise qualified as *devayávaḥ.* Cf. 7, 97, 1 and AV. 8, 9, 13. This is not to contend that the word must always apply to the officiants who perform the manipulative part of the ritual acts. Whereas, in 10, 32, 5, *devayu-* refers, according to Sāyaṇa, to the hotar (*devān kāmayamāno hotā*) and in Baunack's view[20] to Agni, Geldner[21] may be right in regarding it as pointing to the poet who with his inner eye penetrates the world of the gods.[22] For Agni as a *devayu-* see RV. 10, 176, 3. Remarkably enough the adjective accompanies the noun *śocíṃṣi*, the flames and glow of the sacrificial fire, which may be described as "turning to the gods" rather than "pious". The adjective may also qualify the soma which being pressed out is said to be intent on going to the gods or desirous of coming into contact with them[23]: 9, 6, 1; 9, 17, 3 ("longing for the gods"[24]); 9, 37, 1; 9, 43, 5; 9, 56, 1; 9, 97, 4 etc.

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[16] R. T. H. Griffith, The texts of the White Yajurveda, Banares 1927, p 187

[17] J. Eggeling, in The Sacred Books of the East. 43, Oxford 1897, p. 199

[18] A B. Keith, The Veda of the Black Yajus School, Cambridge Mass 1914, p 371

[19] See J. Wackernagel—A. Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik, II, 2, Göttingen, 1954, p 469 f.

[20] Th. Baunack, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift, 34, p. 560

[21] Geldner, o c., III, p. 181.

[22] See The vision of the Vedic poets, p 202

[23] Rather than "loving the gods" (Renou, o c., VIII, Paris 1961, p 5)

[24] S. S. Bhawe, The Soma-hymns of the Ṛgveda, II, Baroda, p 960, p. 5.

ṚGVEDA AND HOMER'S EPICS

By

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It is worthwhile to compare and contrast the most ancient Indian and Greek literary documents in order to find out what was similar and different in their respective societies. In general one has to keep in mind that Greeks and Āryas spoke Indoeuropean languages, nomadised in similar times and under similar —not the same—circumstances. They reached their new homelands which were parts of the region of the Ancient Oriental kingdoms, the Panjab on its eastern and Mykene on its western borderline; both were in some way interconnected and of a similar cultural level. Their civilisation was of a higher level than that of the new-comers, these more or less pastoral Greeks and Āryas. These in turn were similar to each other as breeders of cattle and horse, cultivators who used the plough, coppersmiths and builders of war-chariots. Thus, the starting point of social development in Greece and India was astonishingly similar at nearly the same time.

But the social differences of ancient Greeks and Āryas should not be overlooked. Homer describes a society which in general is that of Ionia about 800 B.C., preserving a lot of much earlier element, from sagas of Mycenian times on, when the Acheans had not yet been overrun by the Dorians about 1200 B.C., and with reminiscences of the Greek colonisation of the Anatolian coast after 1000 B.C. When we precautiously estimate the Ṛgvedic hymns were composed between 1200 and 900 B C. in the Panjab, the Greek epics are a little younger, they grew slowly during a long period which was full of much more dramatic action than that of the Āryas in the Panjab. The Ṛgveda was composed before the Āryas colonised the Doab which was the Indian analogy to the Greek colonisation of the coasts of the Aegean sea between 1100 and 800 B C. and which was quite different from the Āryan occupation of the Doab.

After such historical considerations, turning to the texts one observes that in the two societies also there are similarities as well as dissimilarities. Leaders of the "tribes" in both sources were "kings". Their main duty was leadership in the constant wars which in the first line were fought for getting cattle, valuable goods and slaves (more females than males), from neighbours, not so much for conquering soil for agriculture. Every member of the "tribe" fought in the wars which were regarded as usual source of income. But only some rich and aristocratic heroes were fighting from chariots. The difference of wealth was great; there were even beggars (RV X, 117, 3; Od 18, 1 sqq.). The war-

riors were arranged in what looks like gentile groups. But the "tribes" cannot have been real gentile tribes in such a late period. The Greek new-comers were already mixed to a great extant with Achean and still older people. The Āryas also after centuries of wandering from Central Asia cannot have been ethnically pure Āryas any more.

The "kings" on the other hand were not yet proper kings. They had no apparatus of officials to govern a state. There were not yet states, as there were no more tribes. In the Ṛgveda the main assistants of "kings" were dūtas, some kinds of messengers. The "king" sent a messenger to the enemy, asking for cattle, discussing and threatening with war (ṚV X, 108; VIII, 101, 3 sq.). He sent him to a foreign king to invite him to his master (III, 42). The messenger had to lead some members of the "tribe" to the "king" if he wanted them (X, 14, 12; 109; 165). He, it seems, carried the gifts or the tribute of the members of the "tribe" to the "king", keeping some part of it for himself sometimes being a little corrupt (X, 98, 8-11; I, 105, 4). His master sent him also to some handicrafts when he wanted some thing made for himself, e.g., highly artificial wooden cups (I, 161). The messenger reported to his "king" about the people as did also the spies of the king (I, 25, 13; III, 54, 19, VII, 60, 1; VI, 58, 2 sq)

In the epics of Homer the main assistants of "kings" were heralds (kēryx) They invited the aristocrats and guests to the feasts of the "kings" and distributed there the wine (Od I, 109; 143; 3, 338; 7, 178; 13, 50; 17, 172: 18, 425), lead a bard to the banquet and brought him a lyre (Od 8, 62; 105 sq ; 256; 471), called "king", aristocrats and people to the official gatherings (Od 2, 6; 8, 7) and kept the gathered quiet, brought at such an occasion the sceptre for the king (Od 2, 37 sq.) and brought also the animals which had to be sacrificed there (Od 20, 276, Il 3, 118 sqq.; 19, 195 sqq.). They assisted the "king" during the sacrifice. A herald is described as messenger and spy of queen Penelope (Od. 4, 677; 16, 327; 412). In war a herald with two spies is sent to reconnoitre the region of the enemy (Od. 9, 87 sqq.; 10, 100 sqq.). He is sent to the enmy "king" (Il 7, 370 sqq.). He leads his "king" to the enemy's camp (Il 24, 145 sqq.). He is sent during a battle by his "king" to his heroes with some orders (Il 12, 342 sqq.). A Greek and a Troyan herald separate Hector and Ayax when they fight each other (Il 7, 270 sqq.). The son of a herald or two great heroes are used as spies in the night before a decisive fight (Il 10, 35 sqq.). Spies look secretely for cattle to be robbed (Il 18, 520 sqq.). Just as the Sun-god is the spy of Varuṇa so Helios is praised for seeing every thing (Od 11, 109) and informing Hephaistos about Aphrodite's adultery with Ares (Od 8, 271: 302). Thus, despite of all differences in details, common to the Greek and Indian "kings" was this fact that their main assistants were such personal employees, no state-officials.

Besides, "kings" had their charioteers, responsible and trustworthy friends. They had no officials for a financial department, but they had their treasuries. Such rooms, full of valuable goods in metals, textiles and weapons, are mentioned in the palaces of Odysseus, Priamos and Menelaos (Il.24, 192; Od 15, 98sqq.; 21,9). From there "kings" and queens fetch gifts for guests. Indra has his śevāra, full of valuable goods, to be doled out to singers of hymns and to offerers, administered, it seems, by the Sungod (VIII, 1,21sq.; II, 13,6). But a Non-aryan dāsa as a miser keeps his treasure for himself (VIII, 51,9). Indra, when he is drunk, when he partakes in a banquet, distributes from his treasure (VIII, 1,21), and a human "king" may have done the same. Greek and Indian "kings" filled their treasure with tributes or gifts of their people, with booty and products of their own undertakings, more pastoral than agricultural. Both spent their goods on their retinue, family and guests, but also on rituals. Nobody distinguished between state's and "kings" personal expenditure. There were no public works like building of roads or irrigation works. There were also no standing armies to be paid for by a state.

There was no state's department of law, no especial court or judge. Law was in the main outline not yet separated from morals with some religious foundation. Only once in Ṛgveda VII, 86, 5 it is possible to interpret a prayer to Varuṇa in the sense that the "king" had the power of setting a thief free from fetters. This may have been some beginning of a judicial function of the "king". On the other hand, Homer in Il, 18,497 sqq. described how two men were litigating in the market place where the "Old Men" had gathered in order to decide whether in a case of murder the wergild had been paid or not. This, certainly, was some kind of law-court, mentioned in a late passage of the epic. Correspondingly "kings" are characterised sometimes by Homer as masters of the law. But here also it is still impossible to distinguish clearly between juridical and moral-religious conceptions. Neither in Greece nor in India there were then police, prisons or executions. But there were curses upon thieves or oaths (self-cursings) to certify one's purity (RV VII, 104, 10; 15; Il 19,255sqq) just as there were oaths of contracting parties (I, 73,3; III, 55,2; X, 8,4; Od 5,178sqq. 10,340sqq.; Il 3,73 sqq.; 2,239; 14,270sqq.). Magical oaths were used just because state's law did not yet function. Everybody helped himself to what he thought to be his right. State began—so far as it existed at all—only in the two above mentioned cases of jurisdiction to interfere in the name of public order.

As regards his power the "king" was called the lord whose orders had to be fulfilled, in peace and war. But what did this mean? One poet in a Ṛgvedic hymn to Varuṇa confessed that the people day by day break the law (vrata). He meant the law of the human "king" (I,25,1). But the "king" had no legislative or executive power, he was no despot, his law was the same as the

magic-cosmic-moral law of Varuṇa, of which the "king" was the protector among his people. The people were no daily criminals against the law of a state but sinners against cosmic law. They were no rebels against the "king". On the other hand, Thersites in Il, 2, 210sqq. was a rebel against Agamemnom and the "kings" in general. He wants to return home. He hates the "kings" who take the greatest part of the booty which is conquered by the masses of ordinary fighters who themselves are deprived of sharing the booty. He says so in the assembly of the whole Greek army in order to convince the masses. He is the only one who does so but his arguments are such as may be believed by the majority. Only by brutal force Odysseus stops him because to speak in the assembly is the privilege only of aristocrats. This shows that the democracy of gentile society had in essence disappeared and that the ordinary man began to understand their depressed situation, one might even say, their exploitation because booty had been a regular part of the income of every member of the real tribe in the previous period. We speak therefore to-day of a period of "military democracy" which consisted of the centuries of decaying gentile society. Ṛgveda as well as the Homeric epics are depicting the last phase of this period, but the Greeks were according to the epics in some points a little ahead of the Indians.

One of these points is the beginning of class-struggle, illustrated not only by Thersites but also in the Odyssee when the men of Odysseus do not obey his orders in the case of the winds, kept by the "king" in the sack of Aeolos; this they open against Odysseu's will because they suspect that the "king" secretly keeps booty in it; they think in the line of Thersites, (Od 10,30 sqq.) And against Odysseus' orders they slaughter the oxen of Helios (Od 12,270 sqq). Such actions are not mentioned in the Ṛgveda. Just because such rebellious struggle of the ordinary men did not play any role in Ṛgvedic society and a very small one in Homeric society it was not necessary to keep a costly apparatus of power to strengthen the "kings" position by law and police, to organise a state and to give great political power to a king. Custom was still strong enough to keep people quiet. Exploitation was not yet brutal enough to make people in general dissatisfied and rebellious.

"Kings" in both countries at that time were believed to be helped by gods. The Greeks believed already in some divine origin of their princes and of the sceptre of Agamemnon which he had got from Zeus, although not directly. For the Ṛgvedic "king" not a sceptre but a throne (garta) was the symbol of his extraordinary power, but this one was not believed to be a gift of some god.

In Homeric Greece kingship was hereditary as it was in India. On the other hand, there were some few Ṛgvedic hymns (X, 173, 1; 124, 8) which according to modern interpretation allude to election of "kings" or at least of people's approval of the heir apparent before his enthronization. This is well-

known from the Rāmāyaṇa II. But these hymns need careful interpretation. It may be that "kings" were elected only on certain occasions for especial purposes just as Indra was elected by other gods for fighting Vṛtra (I, 131, 1; IV, 17, 1; 8, 19, 1-2). These other gods may represent in the divine sphere what heads of families or clans were among human beings, but also human "kings". If so, one might conclude that the samrāj, the leader of a group or confederation of "tribes" was elected by the respective "kings and their viśas as *e.g.* in the case of the dāśarājña, the battle of Sudās against ten kings. This confederation is similar to that of the Greek "tribes" who under the leadership of Agamemnon faught against Troy. But Agamemnon was not elected. He invited the other kings to participate in the war because they had been once the suitors of Helena and had sworn as such to protect her future husband against any offender. He acted as the elder brother of Menelaos and also as the mighties Greek "king" of his time residing in Mycenae, the most ancient, originally Pregreek fort and capital of the Hellens with its gigantic archaeological remnants. How the enemy of Sudās became leader of his confederation we do not yet know.

Finally a category for determining the character of the 'king" of Homeric and Ṛgvedic times is his relation to the famous assemblies. The Greek "kings" discussed all political questions day by day with the Council of Elders who gathered close to the palace and after their meeting participated in the "king's" meal which began with an offering of an animal to the gods slaughtered by the "king" himself. These elders were the heads of the aristocratic families. Besides, there were the gatherings of the people, the adult men of the free population, invited on important occasions by the "king". In the Rgveda at least two words are designations of assemblies, sabhā and samiti, and perhaps vidatha also, but whether and how they correspond to the Homeric assemblies is not yet certain. Although a lot of great Vedic scholars have spent great efforts on clearing this question the result is not yet convincing for every indologist. But one gets the impression that such an element of democracy, remaining from older, gentile times had survived up to the centuries of the Ṛgveda. In India such assemblies disappeared from then on—and perhaps for that reason the evidence of the Ṛgveda on this point is so scarce—in Greece they went on for centuries more. But "kings" of these times had no secretariate, council (mantra) or ministers (amātya) at their side as later Indian kings did when they had developed to princes of monarchical states.

On the other hand, Homer in several places alluded to an oppressive character of the "kings" (Il 1, 281; 17, 225:250; Od 4, 691; 13, 15) in contrast to the Rgveda. This is in concordance with the elements of class-struggle in the Greek epics mentioned above but missing in the Ṛgveda.

Thus, one can gather some motives which show that the character of "Homeric" society was more developed on the way from gentile or tribal to

stately society. One reason for this fact is that the Greeks began to use iron earlier than the Indians and that they continued town-life of the pre-Greek population in Mykene and other towns in contrast to the Āryas in Panjab with Harappa and Mohenjo Daro in ruins. The Greeks went on with the sea-trade of the Cretans and Phenicians and developed the Phenician art of writing earlier than the Indians that of the Arameans. Implements and weapons of metals, bronze and silver, and some clothes were apparently more refined in Greece than in India and were according to Homer in part worked by Phenician masters of handicrafts. The progress of the Greeks becomes clear when one contrasts how Hephaestos made the highly artistic and artificial shield for Achilleus, asked by his mother, the goddess Thetis to do so (Ol 18, 370 sqq.), and how the Ṛbhus made some wooden cups, ordered by Indra (I, 161).

Besides, one has to consider that the epics were composed by Homer and got their final shape some time later than the Rgveda, after the very important colonisation of the coasts of the Aegean sea. This may be responsible for the late elements of class-struggle and of the oppressive character of the "king" mentioned above.

But there are other problems which show that the Greeks moved on other ways of social development than the Indians. Thus, the Greek "kings" of the epics had their landed estate, their especial temenos, as did then and later on all members of Greek aristocracy. On these there worked slaves This was in contrast to India. Neither in Vedic nor in later times (with the exception of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra) kings or Kṣatriyas had their landed property tilled by slaves, but they were some kind of masters of villages inhabited by Vaiśyas and Śūdras who worked on their own fields in village-communities and paid some rent to their aristocrats and kings.

Quite different also was the role of priests in India and Greece. Very few priests are mentioned in the epics of Homer. They were bound to a shrine and were professionals in vaticinating, observing the flying of birds, the position of the intestines of animals sacrificed to gods, and dreams. "Kings"--and also all other householders—sacrificed themselves, doing so at the beginning of every meal. They also vaticinated and prayed to gods in a quite personal and spontaneous way which was different from that of the Ṛgvedic prayers composed by professional priests. Homeric "kings" on important occasions asked priests for advise but they did not need any middleman between themselves and the gods. There was no Greek court-priest in contrast to the Vedic and later purohita. In the beginning of the Ilias Agamemnon and Achilleus fight each other for the possession of slave-girls. The daughter of Apollon's priest Chryses has been forcibly carried away by Greeks and delivered to Agamemnon. Her father asks her back, offering a price Il 1. 11 sqq. Agamemnon finally agrees but takes

Briseis, the slave of Achilleus, in her place. Thus, the epic starts with a problem which is similar to that of " king " Soma in the Ṛgveda who has abducted Tārā, the wife of the priest and purohita Bṛhaspati and is finally obliged to give her back (X, 109). From then on the topic of warning kings not to rob Brahmins of their wives (or cattle) is often touched in Indian lawbooks. But Chryses was no purohita, Tārā was not robbed as a slave, and the Greek priests were neither then nor later on members of a caste, class or rank (varṇa) as the Brahmins were. The Brahmins in general claimed the first rank in Indian society, higher than that of the military aristocracy and there is no doubt that already in Ṛgveda the priestly composers of hymns claimed the first rank although they were not yet organised in the strict sense of varṇa.

This difference between ancient Greece and India is difficult to explain. The composers and singers of the Homeric epics were no priests but worldly professionals who roamed around and were received as honoured guests in courts of " kings " (Od I, 325sqq.; VIII. 62sqq ; 26.sqq.; 491). And when later on kings disappeared these bards sang on great religious gatherings or market places in towns (*similar to Kuśa and Lava in Ayodhyā*). They sang originally for the princes and were their ideologists praising their ancestor's heroic deeds. Quite different were the composers and singers of Ṛgvedic hymns who in part also roamed around and selected " kings " or princes as their patrons for whom they offered sacrifices and composed hymns and got presents in return. They also were regarded as highly estimated guests. They also were in some respect ideologists of the military aristocrats and " kings ". But these must have had other, worldly ideologists besides. Later on these were called sūtas and were in the same time charioteers of heroes. They were their genealogists and handed over by oral tradition the names and lines of princely dynasties and their achievements which still later on were gathered in the Indian epics and Purānas. Thus, the Indian and Greek epics resemble each other to a great extent as has been shown by N. K. Siddhanta in his famous book " The Heroic Age of India " (London 1929). Such worldly aristocratic ideological and semi-historical tradition must have existed side by side with the priestly magico-mythical tradition from the times of the Ṛgveda and from still older times on.

One may consider the possibility that the priests play such a great role in the Rgveda just because the hymns were composed by priests while in the Greek epics their importance is very small because Homer belonged to the worldly bards. This would imply the theory that both these old literary documents in Greece and India reflect their societies in wrong ways. Although every liteary work is written from a partial standpoint this argument is not convincing because this basic difference of priests in Greek and Indian society is not only observed in these documents but throughout the whole history of ancient India and Greece. One has therefore to consider this difference as a fact and has to recognise that

it is very old and documented already in the Rgveda and Homer's epics. One can find its explanation only in studying still more archaic stages of Greek and Aryan society.

One may have the general impression that the importance of the Brahmin varṇa goes back to pre-Aryan times of the Indus-valley civilisation. But the Ṛgveda shows that even the Āryas according to their most ancient and pure tradition held their priests in highest esteem. Perhaps they did so already in earlier times when they were still neighbours of the Iranians because among these the role of the priests also seems to have been greater than among the Greeks. This is a question which is not to be dealt with here. But let us for moment look at some further developments.

The Greeks in their later cults of gods, in the official state-religions as well as in the Delphi-, Orpheus- and Dionysos-cults developed a type of humanism which is well-known from Greek arts and dramas, a humanism full of pride, according to which the individual has direct intercourse with his god to help him in his struggle with fate (ananke) in which he either happily succeeds or succumbs tragically. The humanism of India was quite different. In Vedic, Post-Ṛgvedic times the Brahmin acquired the pride that he as a magician of a spiritual type has the power to control not only human destiny but the course of the cosmos as well. Rituals of Brahmins were regarded as more essential than powers of gods. Then, in the Upaniṣads some very few Brahmins and kings strove for their emancipation from destiny, gods and even rituals as the highest human goal. Then Buddha, himself a Kṣatriya, taught his pupils that not the Brahmin elite alone but every body who followed the Buddhist way can get this freedom from fate and gods. This proud humanism was stressed through the centuries by a lot of antiorthodox, liberal, highly humanistic religious reformers, amongst others of the bhakti-movements which finally lead to Ram Mohan Roy and Vivekananda, to Tagore and Tilak, to Gandhi, the Vaiśya and friend of the Harijans, and to Ambedkar, the Untouchable who became Buddhist.

KUNDAMĀLĀ AND UTTARARĀMACARITA

By

H. D. SANKALIA, Poona

I

Kundamālā (*Kdm* or *KM*), a drama attributed to Dinnāga and dealing with the later life of Rāma was discovered in a fragmentary condition in Malabar and first edited in 1923.[1] Soon after, in 1929, I had an occasion [2] to carry out a detailed comparison of *Kdm* with *Uttararāmacarita* (*Urc*) and point out that there was strong evidence to conclude that Bhavabhūti was indebted to Dinnāga for many of the thoughts and expressions and particularly for Act III of the *Urc.*, wherein he brings about a psychological reconciliation between Rāma and Sītā, after the latter was again abandoned in a forest.

This conclusion was strongly resented by a few scholars, particularly by one of my teachers, the late Professor K. M. Shembavnekar. The main argument was that there was no certainty about the identity of Dinnāga (who incidently was different from the famous Buddhist philosopher), and that a dramatist like Bhavabhūti would never borrow from a lesser artists. It was on the contrary quite probable that *Kdm* was a poor imitation of *Urc.*

During the last 37 years, doubts about the priority of *Kdm* and *Urc.* have been, to a great extent, though not completely, removed Dr. K. Dutta [3], after great pains and a careful collation of a few Mss., has given something like a critical edition of *Kdm.* He has also shown by a very detailed study that *Kdm* was composed sometime between the 4th and 6th centuries A.D.

This was also the view of Mankad, Krishnamachari, Varadachari and others.[4] Woolner, on the other hand, had suggested tentatively 11th century as the lower limit of the bracket, but this is not right, as shown by Dutta.[5]

Dutta's arguments for an earlier dating are as follows :—

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[1] Ed. by Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanatha Sastri, Dakshina-bhārati Sanskrit Series, No. 2, Madras, 1923

[2] Sankalia, H. D. "*Kundamālā* and *Uttararāmacarita*" *St. Xavier's College Magazine*, Vol. XXII, 1929-30, pp. 63-76)

[3] Kali Kumar Dutta, *Kundamālā* of *Dinnāga*, Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series, XXVIII, Calcutta, 1964 I am grateful to my colleague, Dr. N. M Sen for drawing my attention to Professor Dutta's work.

[4] Dutta, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 54 (*ABORI.*, XV, p. 236; XVI, p. 158).

1. In the *Kdm*, there is persistent use of Śauraśeni Prakṛt, both in prose and verse.[1]
2. Certain mannerisms in the language, particularly the Prakṛt.[2]
3. The use of introductory verses, different from the Nāndī.[3]
4. The employment of Viduṣaka who normally never appears in Rāma dramas. His appearance in *Kdm.* is novel and is possibly due to the influence of Aśvaghosa.[4]
5. The practice of erecting statues of living and dead persons which seems to have died out after the 4th century.[5]
6. The simplicity of the plot and, as mentioned later, of the language, particularly Sanskrit which is on the whole free from long compounds and harsh, jarring, guttural words.

One or two objections against a very early date need mention. The first is that Rāma is regarded as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Secondly, there is an invocation to god Heramba (Gaṇeśa).

Both these features seem to have been known and even become current by the 5th-6th century A. D.

Recently, I noticed among the ruins of several temples of the early Gupta period at Tigowa (about 40 miles north-west of Jabalpur), two or three idols of Ganeśa, which are indeed precanonical, that is before the 6th-7th century A.D. But these do indicate the growing importance of Ganeśa.

Thus a more critical study of *Kdm.* has very much weakened the objections against its priority to *Urc.* This has emboldened me to republish my article after so many years, for I find that even Professor Dutta has *not* carried out the kind of detailed comparison between *Kdm.* and *Urc.*, as I had done.

With regard to the authorship of *Kdm.*, Dutta, after discussing several views, concludes that the author was Dinnāga and this Dinnāga is the same person who is mentioned in the *Subhāṣitāvali* of Vallabhadeva.[6] Any further identification of this Dinnāga is not yet possible.[7]

Dutta also considers the question of the sources of *Kdm.* and *Urc.* Though both these dramas end happily as in the Uttarakāṇḍa of Valmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa*,

[1] *Ibid*, p. 142.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 153.
[3] *Ibid*, p, 87.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 121.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 113.
[6] Dutta, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

the sources of their information do not term to be identical.[1] Both these might have brrowed from *Padmapurūna*.[2] The author of *Kdm*. was aware of the fact that in the original story, Sītā was left in Vālmīki's hermitage, and the story ended on a tragic note.

However, in a few important particular *Kdm*. departs from the epic, as well as the *Urc*. For instance, the episode of the armed conflict between Rāma and Lava Kuśa is used by Urc. after the epic, but is unknown to *Kdm*, a fact which may suggest that Diṅnāga was posterior to Bhāsa.[3]

Again, though according to both the dramas, Rāma meets the twins in Vālmiki's hermitage, the dramas do not agree on the location of this hermitage. *Kdm*. places this hermitage in the Naimiṣa forest, on the river Gomatī, while *Urc*. places it on the river Gaṅgā.[4]

The most important common point between *Kdm*. and *Urc*. is the *Chāyā* (invisible) Sītā incident. As pointed out by me years ago this incident was borrowed by Bhavabhūti and so cleverly used that it places the entire drama on a high psychological plane.

And I am glad to find that Professor Dutta agrees with my view. He further thinks[5] that Dinnāga might have got the inspiration for this invisible Sītā incident from the *Pratimā Nāṭaka* of Bhāsa. Here occur the words— *Chayeva na driṣyate Sītā.*

Thus though there were enough grounds for inferring that Bhavabhūti derived the inspiration for *Urc*. from *Kdm*. no attempt seems to have been made to discuss these parallelisms. In absence of such an effort, no specific reasons could be assigned for these assumptions.

Kundamālā deals with the later life of Rāma after he had returned with Sītā from Laṅkā. Ever since their return doubts were expressed about Sītā's chastity. Rāma could not withstand this doubting attitude of the public, and he charged Lakṣmaṇa to take Sītā to a forest on the banks of the river Bhāgirathī and leave her there. Devoted Lakṣmaṇa does as directed, and returns to Ayodhyā after abandoning Sītā in a forest. Sītā, in her forlorn state, is seen by the sage Vālmīki, who takes her to his hermitage. Sītā was pregnant at that time, and while going with the sage she takes a vow that she will offer a garland of flowers to the river Bhāgirathī, if she has a safe delivery.[6]

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1 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 164. Though we must point out here that this *Padmapurāna* might not be very old, as to be the source of *Kdm.*

3 Dutta, p. 110 and p. 115.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

5 *Ibid*, p. 114

6 *Kundamālā*, Act I, p. 16.

भगवति भागीरथि यद्यहं सुखेन[1] गर्भमभिनिर्वर्तयामि तदा
तव दिने दिने सुष्ठु ग्रथितया[2] कुन्दमाल्योपहारं करोमि[3] ॥

In Vālmīki's hermitage she gives birth to twin sons, Lava and Kuśa. Accidental circumstances bring Rāma near Vālmīki's hermitage. Thus it happens that the twins recite the Rāmāyaṇa composed by Vālmīki before Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and others. Finally Rāma takes back his wife and sons and there is joy everywhere.

Before entering upon a detailed comparison between the dramas it may be pointed out that there are certain thoughts and expressions which show either mutual exchange between Kālidāsa and the author of *Kdm.* or that both these had borrowed from a common source current in the 4th-5th century A.D.

एतस्मिन्विततनाध्वरे प्रतिदिनं सान्निध्ययोगाद्वरे-
स्त्यक्त्वा नन्दनचन्दनावनिरुहानालानतां प्रापिताः ।[4]
भोगिवेष्टनमार्गेषु चन्दनानां समर्पितम् ।
नात्रसत्कारिणां ग्रैवं त्रिपदीच्छेदिनामपि ॥[5]

It is only the idea in these two verses, viz., that the sandal trees became the tying-post for elephants needs emphasis.

In *Raghu* when Lakṣmana takes leave of Sītā after abandoning her in a forest, because of Rāma's order, she says :

वाच्यस्त्वया मद्वचनात्स राजा (14.61).

In *Kdm* , in an identical scene, Sītā says :

एवमपि त जनं विज्ञापय (Dutta. I., p. 12)

Thus Sītā no longer—and naturally—recognized Rāma as her husband, for he behaved as a king towards her. Paying back in the same coin Rāma is called a "King" by Kālidāsa and a "third person" by Diṅnāga.

Kuśa in *Kdm.*,[6] says :

प्रणाममपि सेवोपदिष्टवती, न च गुरुनियोगा विचारमर्हन्ति ।

While *Raghuvamśa*[7] has the following :

स शुश्रुवान्मातरि भार्गवेण पितुर्नियोगात्प्रहृतं द्विषद्वन ।
प्रत्यग्रहीदग्रजशासनं तदाज्ञा गुरूणां ह्यविचारणीया ॥

[1] The Cr. Ed., p. 21 has *Svastinā* for *sukhena.*
[2] *Ibid.*, has *Svahastagrathitayā.*
[3] *Ibid.*, has *Kariṣyāmi.*
[4] *Kdm.*, Act IV, Verse 7, p. 41; Cr. Ed., p 55.
[5] *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto IV, verse 48.
[6] *Kdm.*, Act V, p. 59; Cr. Ed., p. 77.
[7] *Raghuvaṁśa*, Canto 14, verse 46.

These parallelisms of ideas and language point to two things, viz., (1) either Diṅnāga borrowed from Kālidāsa or the latter from the former, or both from a third source; (2) if Diṅnāga borrowed from Kālidāsa he used his phrases intentionally to satirize Kālidāsa; the converse is also possible.

Both the external as well as internal evidence go to show that Diṅnāga was a contemporary of Kālidāsa, or his immediate successor. Latest research confirms the earlier view that Kālidāsa probably lived in the later part of the fourth century A.D.[1] as Bhavabhūti's date has been fixed in the latter part of the seventh century A.D. The priority of Diṅnāga thus appears certain.

Apart from the Prakrit which Dutta has shown to be of an early type a glance at the plays shows that the style in which *Kdm.* is written is very simple. Very few long compounds and words with harsh sounding gutturals are found. Bhavabhūti, who lived immediately after the great prose-writer Bāṇa, surcharges his dramas with long compounds and harsh-sounding words. This fact again goes to prove the posteriority of Bhavabhūti.

In the *Meghadūta* Kālidāsa makes a reference to a certain Diṅnāga: दिङ्-नागानां पथि परिहरन् स्थूलहस्तावलेपान् (V. 12) which, if translated literally, runs as follows:—"Avoiding in your journey the blows of the huge trunks of the quarter elephants.

But Mallinātha's remarks are significant. Grasping the underlying irony of the passage he remarks दिङ्नागाचार्यस्य कालिदासप्रतिपक्षस्य (स्थूल) हस्तावलेपान् (दूषणानि) परिहरन्, that is, Diṅgnāga was a contemporary of Kālidāsa and abused him in his writings. The same conclusion is arrived at by another commentator Dakṣiṇavartanātha [2]

दिङ्नागानाम्—अनेन दिङ्नागाचार्यो विवक्षितः। स्थूलहस्तावलेपान्—अनेन प्रबन्धदूषणसमये स्थूलहस्ताभिनयाश्च विवक्षिताः अयमभिप्रायः – दिङ्नाग इति कोऽप्याचार्यः कालिदासप्रबन्धानन्यत्रोक्तोऽय-मर्थ इति स्थूलहस्ताभिनयं दूषयति।

This external evidence goes to prove that Diṅnāga was contemporary of Kālidāsa.

One or two parallel ideas, couched in more or less identical language prove the internal evidence for inferring, though not quite conclusively, because both Kālidāsa and Diṅnāga might have borrowed from some third earlier source, that Kālidāsa and Diṅnāga were contemporaries.

Kaṇva [3] in *Kdm.* says:—

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[1] Kieth, A. B., *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 82, and The *Classical Age*, Ed. by R C. Majumdar, 1962, p. 302.

[2] *Kdm.*, Introduction, P. 4.

[3] *Kdm.*, Act IV, verse 5, P. 40; *Cr. Ed.*, p. 55.

आनाकमेकधनुषा भुवनं विजित्य
पुण्यैर्दिवः क्रतुशतैर्विरचय्य मार्गम् ।
इक्ष्वाकवः सुतनिवेशितराज्यभारा
निःश्रेयसाय वनमेतदुपाश्रयन्ते ॥

Compare this with the following verse from *Raghuvaṁsa*:—[1]

इति क्षितीशो नवतिं नवाधिकां महाक्रतूनां महनीयशासनः ।
समारुरुक्षुर्दिवमायुषः क्षये ततान सोपानपरम्परामिव ॥

Further the following verse from *Kdm.* bears a close resemblance to that of *Raghuvaṁsa*:

Let us now turn to the sources of *Kdm.* and its main incidents and the changes made by Bhavabhuti to eolve *Urc.* out of *Kdm.*

The main theme of *Kdm.* is taken from the Uttara Kāṇḍa of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana*, a chapter dealing with the history of Rāma from his coronation to his death.

(1) In Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana* Rāma charges Lakṣmaṇa to take Sītā to a forest on the other side of the Ganges and to leave her there.

In Act I of *Kdm.*, a similar account is found.

(2) Sītā was in an advanced state of pregnancy.

In *Kdm.* Sītā, soon after her arrival in the hermitage of Vālmīki gives birth to twin sons, that is, she was in an advanced state of pregnancy when she arrived.

(3) Sītā, in her forlorn state, chances upon the sage Vālmīki, who receives the exiled queen under his protection. There she gives birth to the twin sons Kuśa and Lava whom Vālmīki educates.

All these incidents occur in *Kdm.*

(4) Rāma performs the Aśvamedha sacrifice. Vālmīki, along with Lava and Kuśa, is present. The boys recite the Rāmāyaṇa in the presence of Rāma who, on knowing that Sītā is alive, sends for her.

Diṅnāga has not made any material change here, except that Rāma does not send for Sītā, but she happens to go to the assembly held in the Naimisa forest where Lava and Kuśa sing the Rāmāyaṇa before Rāma. Vālmīki asks Rāma to take back Sītā while Sītā on the solemn testimony of Vālmīki declares her purity and innocence and exclaims: "Let Pṛthivi rise up to ascertain my purity".

The vow to offer a garland of *kunda* flowers to Bhāgirathī seems to be an invention on the part of Diṅnāga.

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[1] *Raghuvaṁsa*, Canto III, verse 69.

In Acts iii, iv and v, Rāma revisits the old familiar scenes after the great event of Sītā's abandonment. Both Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Padmapurāṇa* tell us that Rāma visited these places after killing the Śūdra ascetic.

Diṅnāga, however, brings Rāma into these places without any obvious reason. He intersperses these Acts with some splendid descriptive and reflective passages. He brings Rāma and Sītā together in these Acts though, Rāma is not aware of Sītā's presence, as he could not see her because of Vālmīki's ban that no man would be able to see any woman living near the Dīrghikā (an oblong tank). Here it is that Sītā comes to know that Rāma still loved her from his heart, though the reconciliation was achieved by that one line:—

यागे तव प्रतिकृतिर्मम धर्मपत्नी [1] and Sītā says :— एवं संदिशतार्यपुत्रेण परित्यागदुःखं मयि निरवशेषमपनीतम् [2]।

These remarks, though pregnant with great consequences, are put forward unartistically by Diṅnāga.

Let us see how Bhavabhūti uses this scene to his advantage. Bhavabhūti does not open his first Act with Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā in a forest. He rather opens it with Rāma and Sītā, who are looking at the picture gallery wherein are depicted their past deeds. He shows how deeply Rāma and Sītā loved each other and yet, if necessary, Rāma was prepared to cast her off, a state duty demanding the sacrifice. Finally, he gives us the events accompanying the exile of Sītā.

Moreover, Bhavabhūti gives the reason for Rāma's going to Daṇḍakāraṇya etc. He utilizes the Sudraka event given in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* for bringing Rāma to the forest. He further notices Diṅnāga's invention, namely, the scene in which Rāma and Sītā are close to one another, yet Rāma is unaware of Sītā's presence ; and he too brings Rāma and Sītā in close proximity. But Sītā remains invisible through Bhāgirathī's power. Still, a consummate artist like Bhavabhūti could not rest satisfied with this scene alone. He brings about most artistically a reconciliation between Rāma and Sītā; a "psychological study", as Dr. Belvalkar[15] puts it.

To Dr. Belvalkar the scene appeared as an original work of Bhavabhūti. This was natural, as *Kdm.* was discovered and published after Dr. Belvalkar's edition of the *Urc.*

Let us now turn to the changes effected by Bhavabhūti.

As has been already noticed, the idea of bringing together Rāma and Sītā, and the idea of making Sītā invisible, did not arise in the mind of Bhavabhūti;

[1] *Kdm.*, Act I, Verse 13, p. 8; *Cr. Ed.*, Act I, Verse 14, p. 10.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Tr. of *Rama's History* by S. K. Belvalkar, *H.O.S.* Vol. 21, p. 80

it is peculiar to Diṅnāga who had it first. But Bhavabhūti made the following changes. He kept Sītā in the dark as to the cause of her exile which Diṅnāga, following Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, gives in the first act of *Kdm.* Consequently when Sītā sees Rāma for the first time after her separation from him, she is extremely angry with Rāma for his disgraceful conduct. Bhavabhūti, then, puts together all the materials which bring about the reconciliation between Rāma and Sīta, scattered at random in *Kdm.* He, thus, brings about a "psychological change" in the heart of Sītā. Instead of piling a mere heap of various incidents he gives them in the order of psychological development. Sītā, therefore, "from a feeling of apathy and even resentment towards her husband, after many a swing of the pendulum reaches finally a state of confidence and perfect reconciliation"[1]. Bhavabhūti puts the very same words in the mouth of Rāma which Diṅnāga uses in *Kdm.*; Sitā's reply also is couched in similar words

रामः—अस्ति चेदानीमश्वमेधाय सहधर्मचारिणी मे।

सीता—आर्यपुत्र का।

रामः—हिरण्यमयी सीताप्रतिकृतिः।

सीता—आर्यपुत्र इदानीमसि त्वम्। अहो उत्खातमिदानीं मे परित्यागलज्जाशल्यमार्यपुत्रेण।[2]

Compare the above lines from *Urc.* with those from *Kdm.* quoted above.

Having thus shown that Bhavabhūti has drawn the matter for his third Act of *Urc.* from *Kdm*, which he improved to a great extent though, let me turn to some details for which Bhavabhūti was indebted to Diṅnāga's *Kdm.*

In *Kdm.*, Lakṣmaṇa,[3] while leaving Sītā, prays to the river Bhāgirathī, to sages, sylvan deities and others to look after Sītā in her exile.

Bhavabhūti makes use of the same device. When Rāma and Sītā looking at the picture gallery come to the river Bhāgirathī and others Rāma[4] prays to them to look after Sītā in the same way as mother Earth looked after her. But Rāma says this without the slightest idea that Sīta would be exiled and that these—the river Bhāgirathī and others, would be her protectors. Thus Bhavabhūti has created a remarkable instance of dramatic irony of an incident which Diṅnāga gives as a matter of course.

Further, in *Kdm.* Lakṣmaṇa discloses to Sītā the cause of her exile in the following verse:—[5]

ऋषीणां लोकपालानामार्यस्य मम चाग्रतः।
अग्नौ शुद्धिं गता देवी किन्तु लोको निरङ्कुशः॥

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[1] Tr. of Rāma's History by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, *H O.S.* p. 81.

[2] *Uttararāmacarita*, Act III, after verse 46.

[3] *Kdm* Act, 1, verses 22-26.

[4] *Urc.*, Act I, after verse 23.

[5] *Kdm.*, Act I, Verse 13.

Bhavabhūti discloses the same very artistically. Rāma is in the forest with Vāsantī, very sore at heart on account of the separation. Sītā also, is there but invisible. Vāsantī, at that time asks Rāma why in spite of his great love for Sītā he abandoned her. And Rama replies—*loko na mṛṣyatīti.*

Here Sītā learns the cause of her exile through Rāma himself, and Bhavabhūti has done this in a very natural way which at the same time touch our vitals, showing at the same time the helplessness of Rāma.

Diṅnāga in the *praveśaka* to Act II of *Kdm.* informs us through two Munikanyakās that Sītā has given birth to twin sons, that they are studying the *Rāmāyaṇa* from Vālmīki, and that Rāma is going to perform the Aśvamedha. The *viṣkambhaka* to Act II of *Urc.* tells us these same things.

In the third Act of *Kdm.* Sītā is in the forest and there comes Rāma with Lakṣmaṇa. Both Sītā and Rāma are unaware of each other's presence there. Now Sītā[1], hearing the conversation between Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, says:—

को नु खलु एष सजलजलधरस्तनितगम्भीरेण स्वरविशेषेणात्यन्तदुःखभाजनमपि मे शरीरं रोमाञ्चयति।

Similar is the situation in *Urc.*, Act III, where Sītā[2] says:—

अह्महे जलभरितमेघमंथरस्तनितगंभीरमांसलः कुतो नु एष मां झटिति उत्सुकयति।

Striking indeed is the similarity of language, ideas and situation.

Sītā's mental condition is depicted in *Kdm* [3], when she sees Rāma after her separation, in the following words:—

अंहो दृष्ट इति परितोषः चिरप्रवास इति मन्युः परिक्षाम इति उद्वेगः निरनुक्रोश इति अभिमानः।

Now compare the above sentiments with the following from *Urc.* of Tamasā[4] when Sītā sees Rāma after her abandonment in the forest.—

तटस्थं नैराश्यादपि च कलुषं विप्रियवशा-
द्वियोगे दीर्घेऽस्मिञ्झटिति घटनात्स्तंभितमिव।
प्रसन्नं सौजन्याद्दयितकरुणैर्गाढकरुणं
द्रवीभूतं प्रेम्णा तव हृदयमास्मिन्क्षण इव॥

Save some variations in expressions and phrases, in both the thought is identical.

Again, I think, Bhavabhūti owes the following verse and the idea contained in it to Diṅnāga. Here is the verse from *Urc.*[5]:—

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[1] *Kdm.*, Act III, p. 30.
[2] *Urc.*, Act III, after verse 6.
[3] *Kdm.*, Act III, p. 31.
[4] *Urc.*, Act III, verse 13.
[5] *Urc.*, Act I, verse 27.

किमपि किमपि मन्दं मंदमासक्तियोगा-
दविरलितकपोलं जल्पतोरक्रमेण ।
अशिथिलपरिरम्भव्यापृतैकैकदोष्णो-
रविदितगतयामा रात्रिरेव व्यरंसीत् ॥

The verse from *Kdm.*[1] runs thus:—

किसलयसुकुमारं पाणिमालम्ब्य देव्या विविधरतिसखीभिः संकथाभिर्दिनान्ते ।
चरणगमनवेगान्मंथरस्य स्मरामि स्तुतपयसि तटिन्याः सैकते चङ्क्रमस्य ॥

In *Kdm.* Lakṣmaṇa says that the deer, swans and peacocks are all weeping, distressed and without any joy, because they sympathize with the piteous condition of Sītā, and sums up thus:—

तिर्यग्गता वरममी न परं मनुष्याः ।[2]

Rāma, in *Urc.* says that all forest animals and birds whom Sītā fed and with whom she passed her time, they all, now that Sītā has once more been in their midst, seem to imitate her, and says:—

हन्त तिर्यञ्चोऽपि परिचयमनुरुध्यन्ते ।[3]

Both the passages allude to the sympathetic attitude of animals and birds towards Sītā in her exile, at the same time hinting at the hard-heartedness of Rāma.

In both *Urc.* and *Kdm.* Sītā is compared to a loving creature that is handed over to a butcher, when she is taken to the forest.

Lakṣmna[4] says in *Kdm.*:—

तदहमपि स्वजनविस्रम्भनिर्विशङ्कां देवीमादाय गृहहरिणीमिव वध्यभूमिं वनमुपनयामि ।

Analogous to this feeling is the following expressed by Rāma[5] after he resolves to abandon Sītā:—

शैशवात्प्रभृति पोषितां प्रियां सौहृदादपृथगाश्रयामिमाम् ।
छद्मना परिददामि मृत्यवे सौनिको गृहशकुन्तिकामिव ॥

Bhavabhūti has rendered the feeling more intense and heart-rendering, specially because he has selected the verse form to convey his thoughts.

In Act IV of *Kdm.* Rāma, who is overcome with the feeling of separation, faints in the forest. Sītā who is near by, and who knows of his presence there, at once goes to Rāma and revives him. After his revival she returns, and Rāma[6] utters the undermentioned verse:—

1 *Kdm*, Act III, verse 12.
2 *Kdm* Act I, verse 17.
3 *Urc.* Act, III, after verse 20.
4 *Kdm.* Act I, P. 3.
5 *Kdm.* Act, I, verse 45.
6 Act, IV, verse 15.

देहि मे दर्शनं प्रिये। त्यज्यतां दीर्घरोषोऽयं किं नु निष्करुणा मयि।

and Sītā,[1] hearing this replies:—

आर्यपुत्र, विपरीतः खलु उपालम्भः।

A similar situation arises in *Urc.* where Rāma[2] says:—

कथं नास्त्येव ननु अकरुणे वैदेहि।
क्वासि देवि प्रसीद। न मामेवंविधं परित्यक्तुमर्हसि।

and Sīta, replies —अयि आर्यपुत्र, विप्रतीपमिवैतत्।

Is it too much to say that Bhavabhūti was strongly influenced by Dinnāga's *Kdm.* and transplanted the scene into *Urc.*?

The following two verses deserve attention. Here is one from *Kdm.* uttered by Rāma[3] on seeing Lava and Kuśa and describing his (Rāma's) inner feelings:—

आपातमात्रेण कयापि युक्त्या संबन्धिनः संनमयन्ति चेतः।
विमृश्य किं दोषगुणानभिज्ञश्चंद्रोदये श्च्योतति चंद्रकान्तः।

And now read the other one from *Urc.*:—

व्यतिषजति पदार्थानान्तरः कोऽपि हेतुर्न खलु बहिरुपाधीन्प्रीतयः संश्रयन्ते।
विकसति हि पतंगस्योदये पुण्डरीकं द्रवति च हिमरश्मावुद्गते चन्द्रकान्तः॥

uttered by Rāma[4] on seeing Lava.

I do not lay so much stress upon the similes which are, without any difference, the same in both the verses, which Bhavabhūti, however, cannot without any strong proof, be charged with having taken from *Kdm.*, for they (the similes) belong to the conventional stock from which Sanskrit poets take; the emphasis is on the idea that underlies these verses.

Let us see what Bhavabhūti has done here.

He was, evidently, dissatisfied that such a lofty thought should be conveyed in words, which are so feeble and inadequate. He, therefore, recast the verse, and instead of *Kayā'pi yuktyā* he put *āntarah ko'pi hetuḥ* and for *sambandhinaḥ sannamayanti cetah* he put a generalised statement conveying the sense more clearly.

Polished and refined as the verse of Bhavabhūti is, such words as padārthān and upādhīn lend it a philosophic tone.

Simplicity and severity are the characteristics of Dinnāga's verse.

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[1] *Kdm.*, Act IV, p 45. *Cr Ed*, p. 78.
[2] *Urc.*, Act III, just before verse 43.
[3] *Kdm*, Act V, Verse 10
[4] *Urc.*, Act VI, verse 12

Moreover, the very means which Dinnāga adopts to show that Rāma was above all hatred and malice are resorted to by Bhavabhūti.

In *Kdm.*, Act VI, Kuśa and Lava sing the Rāmāyaṇa composed by Vālmīki before Rāma. They are about to recite the part which Kaikeyī played in sending Rāma to a forest when Rāma immediately stops them and asks them to omit that verse.

Act I of *Urc.* delineates the character of Rāma. Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā are looking at the picture gallery. At the time when Lakṣmana draws their attention to Kaikeyī's deed, Rāma turns to some other scene, showing thereby that he did not wish to disgrace Kaikeyī once more for her past action.

Finally, we notice that in *Kdm.* Vālmīki[1] rebukes Rāma for not taking into consideration various authorities for Sītā's chastity;—

वाल्मीकिः (सकोपम्)—हे राजन्, धृतसौहार्द, महाकुलीन, समीक्ष्यकारिन्, किं युक्तं तव प्रतिपादिता जनकेन, गृहीतां दशरथेन, कृतमंगला मरुन्धत्या विशुद्धचारित्रां वाल्मीकिना, भावितशुद्धिं विभावसुना, मातरं कुशलवयोः, दुहितरं भगवत्या विश्वंभरायाः देवीं सीतां जनापवाद-मात्रश्रवणेन निराकर्तुम्?

Compare the above rebuke with that of Pṛthivī[2]:—

पृथिवी–भगवति भागीरथि युक्तमेतत्सर्वं न वो रामभद्रस्य।
न प्रमाणीकृतः पाणिर्बाल्ये बालेन पीडितः।
नाहं न जनको नाग्निर्नानुवृत्तिर्न संततिः॥

I have tried to show that Bhavabhūti drew for much of his material in *Urc.* upon *Kdm* of Dinnāga by adducing (1) parallel situations and scenes, (2) identical thoughts, (3) some characteristic phrases.

Notwithstanding the fact that Bhavabhūti utilised much of the material in Dinnāga's *Kdm.* for his own play, it must be said to his credit that it reveals the hand of one of the greatest artists. Bhavabhūti liked the scene which Dinnāga undertook to paint, but disliked the way in which it was worked out. He felt the want of a much deeper background, more colour add more shade, and that he set to create in *Urc.* This also accounts for the fact that the title '*Kdm.*' was changed. '*Kdm.*' like '*Pride and Prejudice*' does not enable one to know straight off what the contents are, while the title *Urc.* does this very well. Moreover, whereas the title '*Kdm.*' is given after a particular incident, '*Urc.*' is very broad and general, covering the whole topic.

Thus Bhavabhūti recast *Kdm.* of Dinnāga altering and modifying what he thought fit to change. He worked with the clear sense of what was artistic and

[1] *Kdm.*, Act VI, p 75.

[2] *Urc.*, Act VII, verse 5.

he, therefore, by changing some of the thoughts and expressions of *Kdm.*, not only improved but doubled its value by putting it into the shape of *Urc.*

One of the reasons why *Kdm.*, though an original work, was lost and forgotten. and *Urc*, a later production and an improvement on the former, is remembered and read, is to be found in this Bhavabhūti's *Urc.* is " a great abounding fountain of truth, whose criticism of life is a source of illumination and joy to the whole human race for ever."[1] Bhavabhūti's ideal of true love, of true friendship, and his conception of childhood will ever remain engraven in the hearts of his readers. It is for these reasons that, though he passed with scant notice through his own generation—of which he complains in his early works—still he was singled out and preserved by the next and thus handed down from one generation to another till the present day.

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[1] Mathew Arnold in three kinds of fames speaks in these words about Shakespeare and Homer. They are, I think, equally, true of Bhavabhūti.

LOCATION OF LAṄKĀ

By

A. D. PUSALKER, Poona

(Note: References are to the Critical Edition of the *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*, published under the authority of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, for the first four Kāṇḍas, and to the Nirnaya-Sagar Press Edition (Bombay, 1921) for Kāṇḍas V-VII.)

The observations of Principal D. R. Mankad on the location of Laṅkā in his Introduction to the Critical Edition of the Kiskindhākāṇḍa of the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* deserve special consideration because they are the first based on the Critical Edition of the *Rāmāyana*. Unfortunately, he has not taken into account the other views on the topic. It is well-known that the traditional view identifies Laṅkā with Ceylon. Principal Mankad locates Laṅkā in Central India " on one of the hill-tops near Indrāṇa ", a village about 18 miles to the north of Jabalpur, takes the extent of Siṁhala-dvīpa " up to the Narmadā in the south ",[1] and declares " that the identifications made by Shri T. Paramasiva Iyer seem to be more in conformity with the data that we got from the text. "[2]

It is not proposed to deal exhaustively with the problem of the Location of Laṅkā in the present article, but to discuss the points raised by Principal Mankad. His location rests mainly on his views about Godāvarī, Agastyāśrama, Vindhya, and Sāgara, and we shall confine ourselves only to these and other relevant topics.

Principal Mankad has " examined all the places where the word Godāvarī occurs in the Araṇyakāṇḍa. " Out of 11 places where he finds the word Godāvarī, he says, " only two show no v.l. for Godāvarī ", which may lead to the indirect inference that the remaining nine have v.l. for Godāvarī. He goes on to say. " I think that the case is very strong to say that at all these places Godāvarī has been put by some late hand. "[3]

It is to be observed in this connection that the reading Godāvarī has been adopted in the Critical Edition in all cases on the strength of the MSS evidence. Further, it is not correct to say that only two cases (*viz*, Nos. 3 and 7 in Principal Mankad's list on p. LX) show no v.l. for Godāvarī. As a matter of fact, verses mentioned in Nos. 1, 2, 5, 9 and 11 in the List, which have been omitted in certain MSS, also show no v.l. for Godāvarī. Thus, out of 13 cases, including

[1] Intr., p. LXIII.

[2] *Ibid*, p. LXII.

[3] *Ibid*, p. LV.

two of substitute passages, as against five cases where Mandākinī occurs as a v.l. for Godāvarī, there are eight cases, where there is no v.l. for Godāvarī.

Again, in addition to the passages enumerated by Principal Mankad, I find that Godāvarī occurs in four additional passages in the Araṇyakāṇḍa, *viz.* (i) III. 15. 2d, (ii) III. 15. 37b, (iii) III. 16. 1c, and (iv) III 43.33a and at all these places, there is no v.l. for Godāvarī. An analysis of 17 cases (including two substitute passages) in which the word Godāvarī occurs in the Araṇyakāṇḍa shows that in as many as 12 cases there is no v.l for Godāvarī, while Mandākinī occurs as a v.l. only at five places. So, if at all, " Godāvarī has been put by some late hand " at five places at the most. The conclusion, therefore, is irresistible that not only is the case not " very strong to say that at all these places Godāvarī has been put by some late hand ", but, on the contrary, the case is very strong for retaining Godāvarī, as is rightly done in the Critical Edition, and there is absolutely no evidence to reject that reading and substitute Mandākinī as Principal Mankad seems to imply.

Then, again, he takes exception to the second mention of Godāvarī in st. 12 in Canto 40 of the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, and regards it as a later interpolation.[4] The fact however, is that in stzs. 7-11 Sugrīva enumerates the localities in the South which were difficult to penetrate such as Vindhya, Narmadā, Godāvarī, Kṛṣṇa-Venī, Varadā and some countries or tribes. Then he instructs the search party to pay special attention and search every nook and corner of Daṇḍakāranya and Godāvarī and also put the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Colas, etc. to a careful scrutiny. The repetition is for the sake of inviting special attention to the searching investigation of the Godāvarī region, Daṇḍakāranya, etc.

Having thus established that the references to Godāvarī in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are genuine and not later interpolations, so that on the strength of the supposed spuriousness of the mention of Godāvarī it cannot be maintained that Pañcavaṭī, Janasthāna, Ṛśyamūka, etc. lie to the north of the Vindhyas and the Narmadā,[5] let us turn to the location of Agastyāśrama and Pañcavaṭī.

According to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, after staying again at the Sutīkṣṇāśrama for some time on his return at the end of ten years after living in different Āśramas in the Daṇḍaka, Rāma enquired about the location of Agastyāśrama, and was told that it was five *yojanas* from Sutīkṣṇāśrama (four *yojanas* to the Āśrama of Agastya's brother and one more *yojana* to Agastyāśrama).[6]

Agastya was associated with the South and he is said to have freed it from the depredations of the Rākṣasas.[7] Agastya's main feat, however, was the

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[4] *Ibid*, p. XLVII.

[5] cf. *Ibid*, p. XLVII

[6] *Rām*, III. 10. 35-40.

[7] *Rām*, III. 10. 79-84.

crossing of the Vindhya range and making it bend low. Vindhya was unsurmountable. It was rising higher and higher, and was coming in the way of sun. Agastya made it lie low till he returned from the South, which he never did, and Vindhya is lying low since then awaiting the return of Agastya from the South. The location of Agastyāśrama, hence, is to be taken, not to the north, but to the south of the Vindhyas.

Pañcavaṭī, the next halt, which abounded in roots, fruit and deer, was two *yojanas* from Agastyāśrama, just near the Godāvarī, on the other side of it.[8] This and the other references to Godāvarī in the context of Rāma's sojourn at Pañcavaṭī, the abduction of Sītā from that place and Rāma's lamentations and search for Sītā thereafter[9] definitely contradict the location of Laṅkā to the north of the Vindhyas, as Godāvarī has been definitely accepted on all hands as lying to the south of the Vindhyas and the Narmadā. The attempt to dub all references to Godāvarī as later additions seems to have been made in order to get over this awkward situation.

The main difficulty the protagonists of the traditional theory have to face is the fact that the Vindhya has been placed to the south of Kiṣkindhā. As, however, the Vindhya is actually to the north of Pañcavaṭī which is near the Godāvarī, which, again, is to the north of Kiṣkindhā, the location of the Vindhya to its south involves a contradiction. In order to overcome this difficulty, we have to take the so-called Vindhya to the south of Ktskindhā as a namesake of the northern Vindhya and identify it with "the hills and plateau of South Maisur" as suggested by Pargiter.[10] It was in order to get over this that the Rāmopākhyāna in the *Mahābhārata* substitutes the Sahya for the Vindhya in this context, taking "Vindhya" in the *Rāmāyaṇa* here as a mistake.[11] It is stated in the *Mahābhārata* that the Sahya and the Malaya were on the shores of the sea.

It is further to be noted that in the Kiskindhākāṇḍa itself we find evidence to support the view that the search party of the Vānaras, which Sugrīva despatched to the South, presumably to explore the Vindhya, was already to the south of the Vindhya. The Vānaras tell Svayamprabhā that they were searching for Sītā in the south which was inhabited by Agastya.[12] According to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,[13] the hermitage of Agastya stood on the summit of the Malaya on the southern extremity and the Vānaras perhaps refer to this as the habitation of Agastya. In any case, Agastyāśrama, as shown earlier, is to be placed to the south of the Vindya. The reference to the Vindhya as being to the south of

[8] *Rām*, III. 12, 13, 18. There is no v.l. for Godāvarī in III 12. 18.

[9] Intr., p. LV and the additional references given above.

[10] *JRAS*, 1894, p. 261.

[11] *Mbh*, (Cr. Ed.), III. 266.42.

[12] *Rām*, IV. 51.7 · अगस्त्यचरितामाशां दक्षिणां यमरक्षिताम् ।

[13] X. 79.

Kiṣkindhā is thus to be taken not to the Vindhya north of the Narmadā but to its namesake in the extreme south.

In this connection, it may be observed that in the description of the march of the Vānara army from Kiṣkindhā southwards to the sea, there is no mention at all of the Vindhya, which the search party comprising Aṅgada, Hanūmat and others is said to have encountered, but of the Sahya, Mahendra and Malaya.[14] Rāma also, in the course of his return journey from Laṅkā to Ayodhyā in the Puṣpaka, does not refer to the Vindhya as coming before Kiṣkindhā.[15]

There being thus no evidence to place the northern Vindhya to the south of Kiskindhā on the basis of the mention of the so-called Vindhya in the Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa, the attempts to locate Laṅkā in Central India to the north of the Vindhya fail to carry conviction.

Laṅkā is said to be surrounded by Sāgara or the sea, and it is well known that Ceylon is surrounded by the sea. Those who locate Laṅkā in Central India, however, take Sāgara to be a shallow expanse of water. It is not correct to state that Rāvaṇa crossed the sea sitting in a chariot. The *Rāmāyaṇa* does not say that the chariot passed through the sea. Boats of the shape of Haṁsa and Krauñca are said to be in the sea. It could not thus have been crossed in an ordinary chariot, in the normal way; hence Rāvana's chariot is described as Kāmaga (moving as desired). Principal Mankad writes in this context: "The sea which Hanūmat crossed and on which Rāma built a bridge was a shallow expanse of water, passable by a chariot drawn by asses. This means that the water could not have been deeper than two or three feet[16] With regard to the bridge built by Rāma, he says: "Rāma forced the sea to be shallow and said

परं तीरं गमिष्यन्ति पद्भ्यामेव प्लवंगमाः ॥ 6.22.3

And then Nala built the bridge."[17] Rāma's statement has not been correctly interpreted here. What Rāma actually says is that he would dry up the sea by the shower of his arrows and then the Vānaras would crossed it on foot.

The descriptions in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, however, do not countenance the view propounded by Principal Mankad. According to the author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Sāgara was the real sea, not a shallow expanse of water. If "water could not have been deeper than two or three feet," there was no sense in spending five days for constructing a bridge for the Vānaras to pass through it. Boats are meaningless with reference to a shallow expanse of water.[18] Further, references

14 *Rām*, VI. 4,70-71, 92-94.

15 *Rām*, VI. 123.

16 Intr., p. LXII.

17 Intr., p. LXII.

18 *Rām*, III. 33. 18, VI. 3. 21.

to whale-like fish, crocodiles, conches and pearl oysters, roaring, there being no other end, surging mass of water, etc.[19] are applicable only to the sea. There are innumerable places where the Sāgara is said to be Lavaṇāmbhas,[20] Lavaṇodadhi,[21] Lavaṇārṇava,[22] Lavaṇatoya,[23] etc., which no body would think of associating with a shallow expanse of water. References to the myth connecting Sāgara with Sagara and others of the Ikṣvākus can, under no circumstances, be told in the context of a shallow expanse of water.[24] Further evidence is supplied by the reference to the ebb and flow of the sea being dependent on the moon.[25] This also can never apply to a shallow expanse of water by any stretch of imagination

In support of his view that Sāgara was but a shallow expanse of water, Principal Mankad states that Rāvaṇa, after the destruction of his chariot by Jaṭāyu, carried Sītā on foot and walked through the Sāgara, which was a shallow expanse of water. This is contradicted by references in the *Rāmāyaṇa* alluding to Rāvaṇa's carrying Sītā through the air.[26] Further, Sītā is said to have dropped her ornaments tied in a garment towards the group of monkeys who were sitting on the top of a hill.[27] This is possible only if Rāvaṇa carried Sītā through the air above the top of the hill, not on foot.

Principal Mankad cites Supārśva, who is said to have allowed Rāvana to pass through Mahendradvāra,[28] to substantiate his view that Rāvaṇa carried Sītā on foot. But Supārśva's testimony, which is the second account which Sampāti gives to the Vānaras of his coming to know of Rāvaṇa's carrying away Sītā, runs counter to his own earlier account where he tells the Vānaras that he himself saw Rāvana going with Sītā,[29] seems to be a later addition and may be ignored. Further, it is strange that the Vānaras should ask Sampāti again about the news of Sītā when he had already informed them about her. Even if genuine, the description of Supārśva cannot be cited in corroboration of the view that Rāvaṇa carried Sītā on foot, because immediately after crossing the Mahendradvāra, Rāvaṇa is described by Supārśva as speeding through the sky.[30]

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[19] *Rām*, VI. 4 93, 109-120, 123 17-18.

[20] *Rām*, IV. 57. 31, V. 1. 48, 69, 75, 79, 94, 125, 176, 187, 50. 34; 56. 49; 58 41.

[21] *Rām*, VI. 24. 31.

[22] *Rām*, V. 56. 51, VI. 50. 35, 51. 4, 123. 16,

[23] *Rām*, V. 1. 100, 119.

[24] *Rām*, V. 1. 87, 105.

[25] *Rām*, VI. 4. 111.

[26] *Rām*, III. 50. 12, 51. 1.

[27] *Rām*, III. 52. 1-2,

[28] *Rām*, IV. 58 3.

[29] *Rām*, IV. 57. 15.

[30] *Rām*, IV. 58. 18.

Hence, Sāgara in the *Rāmāyaṇa* which surrounded Laṅkā was the sea and not a shallow expanse of water as interpreted by those who place Laṅkā in Central India.

Besides the facts noted above, there are several factors going against placing Laṅkā in Central India. In the description of the South, where Laṅkā is said to have been situated, there are references to sandal-wood trees, cocoanuts, etc.,[31] which cannot be associated with trans-Vindhyan north or Central India where Laṅkā is sought to be located. Rāma had to cross the Sahya, Malaya and Mahendra mountains to reach the shore opposite Laṅkā.[32] Sugrīva's description in IV. 40 places, Laṅkā beyond the Kāverī, the Malaya mountain, the Tāmraparṇī, the Pāṇḍya country and the sea.

Thus, there is overwhelmimg evidence in favour of the traditional view equating Laṅkā with Ceylon, and there is no valid basis for the theory placing Lnṅkā in Central India.

[31] Cf. *Rām*, III. 33. 13, 21; IV. 40. 14, 18; VI. 4 75; 22. 55.

[32] *Rām*, VI. 4, 92-94.

EXTENT OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE RĀMA-STORY OF PAUMACARIYAṀ

By

K. R. CHANDRA, Ahmedabad

We have already discussed the sources[1] of the Rāma Story of Paumacariyaṁ of Vimalasūri. There it has been pointed out as to what extent its sources lie in the oral Jain tradition as well as the popular tradition and also how far it has been influenced by the story of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa. There are certain novelties and diversions in the story of Paumacariyaṁ from that of Vālmīki Rāmāyana and the subject of the present article is to show their influence on non-Jain works without giving any details which have been discussed elsewhere.

This influence should be rightly termed as that of the tradition of the Rāma story of Paumacariyaṁ because it has worked in three ways : (i) direct influence of Paumacariyam, (ii) indirect influence of Paumacariyaṁ *i e.* the influence of subsequent works based on Paumacariyaṁ and (iii) of those non-Jain works which were initially influenced by Paumacariyaṁ directly or indirectly.

The elements of PCV's tradition which have influenced non-Jaina works are generally concerned with the upgrading of the valour of characters and the elevation of characters. According to the proportion of their influence they can be arranged in the following descending order:--

1. Rāma's success among various candidates at the svayaṁvara of Sītā.
2. Battle between Rāma and his sons.
3. Disturbing of Rāvana's Yajña.
4. Progeny of Hanumat.
5. Association of Kaikeyī with the war chariot of Daśaratha. Exonerating of Kaikeyī from the charge of exiling Rāma and her request to Rāma to come back. Śambūka as the nephew of Rāvaṇa and his death at the hands of Lakṣmaṇa. Lava as elder brother of Kuśa.
6. Meeting of Hanu with Bharata while bringing the medicine to cure the wounded Lakṣmaṇa.
7. Hanu's meeting with Vibhīṣaṇa on the occasion of his mission to Laṅkā.

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[1] Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. XIV, No. 2, Dec. 64. p. 134 f.

8. Bow introduced specially for the svayaṁvara of Sītā. Voluntary exile of Rāma (specially a favour for Bharata). Prophecy about the destined killer of Vāli (Rāvaṇa in the PCV). Association of Lakṣmaṇa with Rāma in the episode of killing of Vāli (sham Sugrīva in the PCV). Bringing of the medicine by Hanumat before the sun-rise. Performing of penances by Rāma.
9. Bharata and Śatrughna as real brothers. Elevating the character of Daśaratha (on the occasion of declaring Rāma as his heir to the throne). Hanumat's love episode. Performing of penances by Sītā.
10. Rāvaṇa's attempt to foil the birth of any son to Daśaratha. Kaikeyī's love marriage with Daśaratha. Initial betrothal of Sītā with Rāma. Taking of shelter with Rāma by Vibhīṣaṇa along with his army. Appearance of Garuḍa at the request of Rāma, in the battle field. Procuring medicinal water particularly from Bharata. Sending of a peace proposal to Rāma by Rāvaṇa through his envoy. Killing of Rāvaṇa by Lakṣmaṇa. Digvijaya by Rāma (or Lakṣmaṇa in PCV). Marriages of Lava and Kuśa Nārada as the instigator of the battle between Rāma and his sons. Association of water reservoir with Sītā's ordeal. Performing of penances by Hanumat. Continuation of the enmity of both Rāma and Sītā with Rāvana since their previous births.

Various works which have been thus influenced can be mentioned pointwise in a tabular form as shown in the Appendix on pp. 144-149.

This table will show that the tradition of the Rāma-story of PCV has been influencing non-Jaina works up to the recent century, belonging to the Buddhist as well as the Brahmanical fold. The Buddhist works are a few *i.e.* The Khotānī Rāmāyana and the Rāmajātaka of Śyāma, whereas the Brahmanical works are numerous, religious and secular or ornate. The religious ones are the Purāṇas, sectarian Rāmāyanas and other religious works whereas the ornate ones are poems, dramas and narratives composed in Sanskrit, various modern Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages. In India the influence of Vimalasūri's tradition can be seen from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Gujarat to Bengal. Outside India also Vimalasūri's tradition has exercised influence on the works hailing from Tibet, Eastern Turkeystan, Ceylon and South East Asia and even on the Western accounts written by some foreign travellers.

The greatest influence of the tradition of PCV is marked on the Padmapurāṇa, Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa, Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa, Tulasī's Rāmāyaṇa and his other works, Serī Rāma of Malaya and Rāmakiyen of Śyāma. According to the largeness of the influence they can be arranged as Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa, Tulasī's works on Rāma—story, Serī Rāma, Padmapurāṇa, Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa and Rāmakiyen.

Generally such works have been influenced greatly which belong to a period later than the TSP of Hemacandra. He was a great poet and scholar. His TSP is composed in Sanskrit. Therefore, its popularity in the non-Jaina circle must have been wider than that of any other Prakrit work. Hence it is all the more probable that the tradition of PCV has influenced non-Jaina works through Hemacandra's TSP as far as the non-Jaina works composed not earlier than the 12th century are concerned and they are not small in number.

Abbreviations:
PCV=Paumacariyaṁ of Vimalasūri.
TSP=Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita.
Western Accounts=See Rāmakathā by Dr. C. Bulcke, Prayag (1962), pp. 282-285.

INFLUENCE OF THE TRADITION

Sl. No.	TOPICS	INDIA
		Sanskrit (1)
1.	Rāvana's attempt to foil the birth of Rāma	Ānanda Rāmāyana
2.	Predominance of Kaikeyī's willingness in her marriage with Daśaratha	Satyopākhyāna
3.	Association of Kaikeyī with the war chariot of Daśaratha	Brahma Purāna; Padmapurāṇa; Adhyātma & Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa
4.	Bharata & Śatrughna as uterine brothers	
5.	Initial betrothal of Sītā with Rāma	Padma Purāna
6.	Introduction of the Bow specially for the svayaṁvara of Sītā	Padmapurāna; Satyopākhyāna
7.	At Sītā's svayaṁvara Rāma's success among various candidates?	Nṛsiṁha? Bhāgawata, Srīmaddevī Bhāgawata & Padma Purāṇa; Adhyātma & Ānanda Rāmāyana; Satyopākhyāna; Mahāvīracarita, Anargharāghava; Bāla-Rāmāyana, Mahānāṭaka; Prasannarāghava; Rāmarahasya & Rāmaliṅgāmṛta
8.	Elevation of the character of Daśaratha (on the occasion of enthroning Rāma)	Mahānāṭaka
9.	A. Exonerating of Kaikeyī from the charge of exiling Rāma & B. Kaikeyī's personal efforts to call back Rāma	Adhyātma & Ānanda Rāmāyana, Mahāvīracarita; Anargha Rāghava & Bālarāmāyana Dharmakhaṇḍa & Tattvasaṅgraharāmāyana
10.	Voluntary exile of Rāma (a special favour for Bharata)	
11.	Śambūka as the nephew of Rāvaṇa & his killing by Lakṣmaṇa	Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa
12.	Hanumat's love episode	Rāmacarita of Abhinanda

OF PAUMACARIYAM *APPENDIX A*

INDIA	ABROAD	
Modern Languages (2)	South Asia (3)	Western Europe (4)
	Serî Rāma (Malaya), Hikāyata Mahārāja Rāvaṇa (Malaya) & Rāmakiyen (Śyāma)	
Marāṭhî Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa	Serî Rāma (Malaya)	
Kāśmîrî Rāmāyana		
Rāmacaritamānasa; Tamila Rāmāyaṇa of Kambana, Telugu Dvipāda Rāmāyana, Marāṭhî Bhāvārtha-Rāmāyaṇa, Gujarāti Rāmāyaṇa of Premānanda	Serî Rāma (Malaya), Hikāyata Mahārāja Rāvana (Malaya); Seratakāṇḍa (Jāvā) & Reāmkar (Cambodia)	Western Accounts No. 3, 4, 7, 8 & 13
Rāmacaritamānasa		
Rāmacaritamānasa & Kāśmîrî Rāmāyana		
	Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa & Serî Rāma (Malaya)	West. Acct. No. 14
Telugu Dvipāda Rāmāyaṇa & Kannarese Toräve Rāmāyaṇa	Serî Rāma (Malaya); Seratakāṇḍa (Jāvā); Rāmakiyen (Śyāma)	Western Account No. 19
	Rāmakiyen (Śyāma)	

INFLUENCE OF THE TRADITION

Sl. No.	TOPICS	INDIA
		Sanskrit (1)
13.	Child(ren) of Hanumat	Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa, Jaimini Bhārata & Rāmaliṅgāmṛta
14.	Prophecy about the destined killer of Vāli (Rāvaṇa in PCV) ?	Nṛsiṁha Purāṇa? & Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa
15.	Association of Lakṣmaṇa with the episode of killing of Vāli (sham Sugrīva in PCV) by Rāma	
16.	Hanu's meeting with or observing Vibhīṣaṇa's favourable attitude for Rāma at Laṅkā	Ānanda Rāmāyana
17.	Taking of shelter by Vibhīṣaṇa along with his army	
18.	Appearance of Garuḍa at the request of Rāma, in the battle field	Bhaṭṭikāvya
19.	Meeting of Hanu with Bharata while bringing the Osadhi	Gauḍīya Version of Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, Rāmarahasya & Mahānāṭaka
20.	Procuring of the medicinal water specially form Bharata	
21.	Delivering of the Oṣadhi before the sun-rise	Mahānāṭaka
22.	Sending of a peace proposal to Rāma by Rāvaṇa through an envoy	Mahānāṭaka
23.	Disturbing of Rāvaṇa's Yajña	N. W. Version of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa; Padma Purāṇa; Adhyātma & Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa
24.	*Killing of Rāvaṇa by Lakṣmaṇa*	

OF PAUMACARIYAṀ

INDIA	ABROAD	
Modern Languages (2)	South Asia (3)	Western Europe (4)
Marāṭhī Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa; Kannarese Mairāvaṇa Kalaga & Gujarātī Narmakathākośa	Serī Rāma (Malaya), Hikāyata Mahārāja Rāvaṇa (Malaya); Rāmakiyen (Śyāma)	West. Acct. No. 7 & 8
		West. Acct. No. 13
	Serī Rāma (Malaya); Reāmkar (Cambodia)	West. Acct. No. 1
Rāmacaritamānasa & Gujarātī Rāmāyaṇasāra; Marāṭhī Bhāvārtha Rāmāyaṇa		West. Acct. No. 13
	Rāmāyana Kākāvin (Jāvā)	
Rāmacaritamānasa; Baṅgālī Kṛttivāsa & Kāśmīrī Rāmāyana		
	Rāmakiyen (Śyāma)	
Rāmacaritamānasa & Baṅgālī Rāmāyaṇa		
Rāmacaritamānasa; Telugu Dvipāda Rāmāyaṇa; Kannarese Torāve Rāmāyaṇa; Kāśmīrī Rāmāyaṇa & Gujarātī Rāmāyaṇasāra	Khotānī Rāmāyana (Eastern Turkeystan); Serī Rāma (Malaya); Reāmkar (Cambodia); Rāmakiyen (Śyāma)	West. Acct. No. 3
Birhor Kathā		

INFLUENCE OF THE TRADITION

Sl. No.	TOPICS	INDIA
		Sanskrit (1)
25.	Digvijaya by Rāma (Lakṣmaṇa in PCV)	Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa
26.	Lava as elder brother of Kuśa?	Kathāsaritsāgara?
27.	Marriages of Lava and Kuśa	Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa
28.	Lava and Kuśa's battle with Rāma?	Kathāsaritsāgara? Padma Purāna, Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa; Jaimini Bhārata; Uttararāmacarita
29.	Nārada as the instigator of a battle between Rāma & his sons	Rāmaliṅgāmṛta
30.	Association of the water reservoir with Sītā's ordeal?	Kathāsaritsāgara?
31.	Penances of Rāma	Brahma Purāna
32.	Penances of Sitā	
33	Penances of Hanumat	Brahma Purana
34.	Enmity of Rāma as well as Sitā with Rāvaṇa since their previous births	

The question mark (like?) indicates the probability that both the PCV and the corresponding work might have a common source for that particular element.

OF PAUMACARIYAṀ

INDIA	ABROAD	
Modern Languages (2)	South Asia (3)	Western Europe (4)
Rāmacaritamānasa & Kāśmîrî Rāmāyaṇa	Tibetan Rāmāyaṇa; Siṁhalese Rāmakathā	West. Acct. No. 8 & 17
Gītāvalī, Kṛttivāsa Rāmāyaṇa, Kāśmīrī Rāmāyaṇa & Gujarātī Rāmāyaṇasāra	Siṁhalese Rāmakathā; Serī Rāma (Malaya); Seratakāṇḍa (Jāvā); Reāmkar (Cambodia); Rāmakıyen (Śyāma) & Rāmajātaka (Śyāma)	Western Account No. 6, 7, 8, 14 & 17
	Serī Rāma (Malaya); Seratakāṇḍa (Jāvā)	
	Serī Rāma (Malaya); Seratakāṇḍa (Jāvā)	
	Rāmakıyen (Śyāma)	
Rāmacaritamānasa		

SOLAR GENEALOGY RECONSIDERED

By
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In my book 'Puranic Chronology', I had considered the Pre-Mahābhārata solar genealogy. I had, then, put 57 steps between Manu Vaivasvata and Rāma and I had taken 57×40=2280 years to have elapsed between them.

My subsequent studies have forced me to give up this stand. I have, now, come to the conclusion that hardly 280 years had elapsed between Manu Vaivasvata and Kṛṣṇa, which period, I had, then, put at 2800 years. In a paper on 'Chronological Distance between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa' (published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Sept. 1964), I have shown that the distance between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa has to be reduced to 3 or 4 generations. Thus the distance between Manu Vaivasvata and Rāma will be reduced to less than 200 years (from the accession of Manu to the death of Rāma). But, then, the question will be why do the Purāṇas give, in their solar genealogy, from 50 to 65 steps between these two ?

While closing my book 'Puranic Chronology' I had said (pp. 352): "I also know that this whole dynasty is made up of several collateral branches. But I have shown them as linear because at the time of the Mahābhārata, this interpolation was already an accomplished fact and I am here concerned with the number of kings as was fixed in the days of the Mahābhārata."

Thus the entire Solar genealogy upto Rāma (and even further) has been constructed of several collateral branches, each of four or five kings, who were, more or less, contemporary of Rāma. These collateral branches have been made lineal in the present genealogy. In this paper, for the sake of convenience, I shall call the period covered by the five kings—Dilīpa, Raghu, Aja, Daśaratha and Rāma, as Rāma period, and I shall show that almost all the kings named in the Solar genealogy belonged to Rāma period.

I shall, therefore, undertake a reconsideration of the Solar genealogy from Manu to Rāma, considering each king separately. In doing so, I shall take as my basis the list given in the Vāyu Purāṇa, as that gives the largest number of names (=65) in this genealogy.

1. Manu Vaivasvata

Manu Vaivasvata is the first king of this Solar genealogy. His father Vivasvat is a historical figure, being found in Iranian genealogies also, in the form of Vivaṅghat. Manu is a Ṛgvedic poet, having composed five sūktas (VIII, 27-31) of the Ṛgveda.

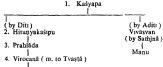
We note the following points for the chronological position of Manu Vaivasvata.

1. Manu was the son of Vivasvat, who was the son of Kaśyapa. All the Purāṇas say that Kaśyapa had married 13 daughters of Dakṣa. Kaśyapa had Hiraṇyakaśipu by Diti and Vivasvat by Aditi. Hiraṇyakaśipu had a son named Prahlāda, who had a daughter named Virocanā, who was married to Tvaṣṭā. Tvaṣṭā by Virocanā had a daughter named Saṁjñā. This Saṁjñā was married to Vivasvat.

Vy. 83, 19 says

प्राह्लादी विश्रुता यस्य त्वष्टुः पत्नी विरोचना ।
विरोचनस्य भगिनी माता त्रिशिरसस्तु सा ॥ 19
त्वाष्ट्री सा सवितुर्भार्या पुनःसंज्ञेति विश्रुता । 21b

Ṛg. V, 15, 15 also says that Tvaṣṭā had a wife named Virocanā; In Vy. 66, 73 Prahlāda's daughter is called यशोधरा, married to Tvaṣṭā, and all the Purānas say that Vivasvat had married Saṁjnā Tvāṣṭri, whose son was Manu.

The position will be as under:

1. Kaśyapa

2. It is further said that Prahlāda had a son named Virocana, whose son was Bali. Bali's daughter's daughter named Vajrajvālā was married to Kumbhakarna, the brother of Rāvana. Rām. VII, 12, 23-24 says

वैरोचनस्य दौहित्रीं वज्रज्वालेति नामतः ।
तां भार्यां कुम्भकर्णस्य रावणः समकल्पयत् ॥

Therefore, the position will be as under:

1. Kaśyapa

(by Diti)
2. Hiraṇyakaśipu
3. Prahlāda
4. Virocana — 4. Virocanā (m. to Tvasta)
5. Bali — 5. Saṁjnā
6. daughter
7. Vajrajvālā (m. to Kumbhakarṇa)

(by Aditi)
2. Vivasvat
(by Samjna)
3. Manu

This puts Manu at the third step and Vajrajvālā *i.e.* Kumbhakarṇa *i.e.* Rāma at the 7th step. This puts the distance between Manu and Rāma at 4 steps.

3. All the Purāṇas say that Manu Vaivasvata had a son named Śaryāti. Śaryāti had a daughter named Sukanyā, who was married to Cyavana, the son of Bhṛgu. Śaryāti had a son named Ānarta, whose son was Reva. Reva had a son Revata. He was called Revata Kakudmin. This Revata had a daughter named Revatī who was married to Balarāma, the brother of Kṛṣṇa. The position will be this.

This puts Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma at the 8th step, which means a difference of one step between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.[2]

4. Pṛṣadhra is usually given as a son of Manu Vaivasvata. About this Pṛṣadhra, Vy. 85,2 says : शापाच्छूद्रत्वमापन्नश्च्यवनस्य महात्मन. । This means that Pṛṣadhra was a contemporary of Cyavana, who was, as we have seen above, Śaryāti's son-in-law.

5. This Cyavana was at Rāma period. The genealogy of Cyavana is usually given thus (Mbh. 66,46-7). Bhṛgu-Cyavana-Aurva-Ṛcīka-Jamadagni-Paraśurāma. This puts Cyavana 4 steps above Paraśurāma, who was a contemporary of Rāma. Paraśurāma will be at the 9th step.

There is another genealogy given in Mbh. I, 4 thus :—Bhṛgu-Cyavana Pramati-Ruru-Śunaka-Śaunaka. Śunaka belongs to Mbh. age. (Mbh. Sabhā 4, 10) Taking Cyavana at the 5th step as we have done, Śaunaka will be at the 9th step.

In Rāmāyaṇa, it is said that when Śatrughna was going to fight against Lavaṇa, he had halted at an āśrama on the Yamunā, where he met Cyavana.

[1] Acc to Hr. I, 10,31 Śaryātı was the son of Prāṁśu, the son of Manu Vaivasvata.

[2] Vn. has the following :

साम्प्रतं महीतले आसन्नो हि कलिरष्टाविंशतितममनोश्चतुर्युगमतीतप्रायं वर्तते ॥

IV, 1,76-77. Thus Revata gave Revatī to Balarāma, when Kali was about to begin.

अथ रात्र्यां व्यतीतायां शत्रुघ्नो भृगुनन्दनम् ।
पप्रच्छ च्यवनं विप्रं लवणस्य यथाबलम् ॥ VII, 67, 1

This makes Cyavana a direct contemporary of Rāma.[1]

All this shows that Manu Vaivasvata and his sons Śaryāti and Pṛṣadhra were not much removed from Rāma. I will show below that Ikṣvāku's son Daṇḍa was at Rāma period.

2. *Ikṣvāku*

Ikṣvāku was the son of Manu Vaivasvata, as our entire tradition proclaims and his is the second name in this genealogy.

Ikṣvāku had a son named Daṇḍa, about whom Rāmāyaṇa notes the following :

पुरा कृतयुगे राम मनुर्दण्डधरः प्रभुः ।
तस्य पुत्रो महानासीदिक्ष्वाकुः कुलनन्दनः ॥ Rām. VII, 79, 5
तेषामवरजस्तात (दण्डः)
स दण्डस्तत्र राजाऽभूद्रम्ये पर्वतरोधसि ।
पुरं चाप्रतिमं राम न्यवेशयदनुत्तमम् ॥ VII, 79, 17
पुरस्य चाकरोन्नाम मधुमन्तमिति प्रभो
पुरोहितं तूशनसं वरयामास सुव्रतम् ॥ 18

It is said here that Daṇḍa had Uśanas as his purohita. Uśanas also acted as the purohita of Meghanāda, the son of Rāvaṇa. (Rām. VII, 25, 6). This makes Daṇḍa a contemporary of Meghanāda and therefore of Rāma.

Again it is said that Daṇḍa had violated Arajā, the daughter of Uśanā (Rām. VII, 80, 8). Uśanas, it should be noted, was Cyavana's brother, being Bhṛgu's son.[2]

Purāṇas also make Daṇḍa to be a son of Ikṣvāku. (Vy. 87, 9, Bg. IX, 6, 4, Bd. III, 63, 9; Vn. IV, 2, 12). Only Hr. (I, 10, 24) makes Daṇḍa to be a grandson of Sudyumna, who was the same as Ilā, the daughter of Manu Vaivasvata.

All this shows that Ikṣvāku is to be placed at Rāma period.

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[1] Mbh I. 66, 46 says that Cyavana had by Āruṣī, the daughter of Manu a son named Aurva

आरुषी तु मनोः कन्या तस्य पत्नी मनीषिणः।
और्वस्तस्यां समभवदूरुं भित्वा महायशाः ॥

We do not know which Manu is meant here, but Aurva is here taken as the son of Cyavana. In the Purāṇas, Aurva is said to be the son of Apravān or Ātmavān and Rucī. In Vy. 65, 40-1 Ātmavān is called Cyavana's son There is some confusion, but this will, at the most, make one more step.

[2] Sometimes Uśanas is called the grandson of Bhṛgu, being called Kavi's son.

3. *Vikukṣi*

Vikukṣi is the third name in this genealogy. Nothing is known about him, except that he was exiled by his father for eating away hare's flesh brought for a sacrifice. But it is certain that he was Ikṣvāku's son and as such he was Daṇḍa's brother. He is, thus, at Rāma period.

4. *Kakutstha*

The fourth king Kakutstha is not much removed from Rāma Dāśarathi, I shall show how.

1. It is said in Vy. 88th

इन्द्रस्य वृषभूतस्य ककुत्स्थो जायते पुरा ॥ 24
पूर्वमाडीवके युद्धे ककुत्स्थस्तेन स स्मृतः ।

This means that Kakutstha had helped Indra in Āḍibaka Devāsura battle. If we can know the time of Āḍibaka battle, we can know the time of Kakutstha also. The following shows that Āḍi and Baka were not much removed from Rāma.

(1) Mt. (157th Adhyāya) says that Āḍi and Baka were two brothers and were the sons of Andhaka Andhaka was killed by Śiva and Āḍi wanted to take revenge of his father's death, but in his stratagem against Śiva, he himself was killed.

ज्ञात्वा तु ततो गिरिसुतां दैत्यस्तत्रान्तरे वशी ।
अन्धकस्य सुतो दृप्तः पितुर्वधमनुस्मरन् ॥ Mt. 156, 11
देवान्सर्वान्विजित्याजौ बकभ्राता रणोत्कटः ।
आदिर्नामान्तरप्रेक्षी सततं चन्द्रमौलिनः ॥ 12
आजगामामररिपुः पुरं त्रिपुरघातिनः ।

This shows that Āḍi and Baka were Andhaka's sons.

(2) Andhaka himself was the son of Hiraṇyākṣa. In VP. 63rd Prahlāda told Andhaka:

येयं गिरिसुता वीर सा माता धर्मतस्तव ।
पिता त्रिनयनो देवः श्रूयतामत्र कारणम् ॥ VP. 63, 5
नव पित्रा त्वपुत्रेण धर्मनित्येन दानव ।
आराधितो हरो देवः पुत्रार्थाय पुरा किल ॥ 6
तस्मै त्रिलोचनेनासीद्दत्तोऽन्धोऽप्येव दानवः ।
पुत्रकः पुत्रकामस्य प्रोक्त्वेन्धं वचनं विभो ॥ 7
नेत्रत्रयं हिरण्याक्ष सनर्मसुतया मम
पिहितं योगसंस्थस्य ततोऽर्ध्वमभवत्तमः ॥ 8

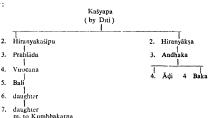
This shows that the father of Andhaka is addressed (verse 8) by Śiva as Hiraṇyākṣa. Further, in VP. 70th, 65th verse, Andhaka is addressed as Hairaṇyākṣa. Lg. (93,4) also makes Andhaka the son of Hiraṇyākṣa

हिरण्याक्षस्य तनयो हिरण्यनयनोपमः ।

पुरांधक इति ख्यातस्तपसा लब्धविक्रमः ॥

Thus it is clear that Andhaka was Hirṇyākṣa's son and therefore Hiraṇyakaśipu's nephew.

(3) Now Hiranyakaśipu was the great grand-father of Bali and Bali's daughter's daughter was married to Kumbhakarṇa, the brother of Rāvaṇa, as we have already seen.

(4) Thus the distance between Āḍi and Kumbhakarṇa can be shown as under:

This shows that Āḍi and Baka, who were involved in Āḍibaka battle were removed from Kumbhakarna and therefore from Rāma by 3 degrees only.

(6) And, Kakutstha, who took part in Āḍibaka battle was not much removed from Rāma.

2. In VP 66th it is said that Śambara acted as a messenger of Andhaka and went to Śiva and told him to give Pārvatī to Andhaka. It has been shown that Śambara was a contemporary of Divodāsa, the brother of Ahalyā.[1]

Thus also, Andhaka and Āḍi and therefore Kakutstha will not be much removed from Rāma.

3. It is said that Kakutstha's daughter *Go* was married to Yati, the brother of Yayāti. See, ककुत्स्थकन्यां गां नाम लेभे पत्नीं यतिस्तदा Vy. 93, 13-14.

Now Yati was Nahuṣa's son and Nahuṣa was Āyu's son. Āyu had another son named Raji who was a contemporary of Prahlāda and Bali.[2] Bali's Grand-

[1] Pradhan : Chronology of Ancient India, pp. 5-9.

[2] See my paper 'The twelve Devāsurasamgrāmas JOI, Vol. XII, No. 3.

daughter, as we have seen, was married to Kumbhakarṇa. Thus Raji who was Bali's contemporary, was not much removed from Rāma. And, therefore, Kakutstha, whose daughter had married Yati, the nephew of Raji, also was not much removed from Rāma.

Rāmāyaṇa gives Rāma's genealogy at two places: I, 69 ana II, 110. At both these places,[1] Kakutstha is not given as the son of Vikuksi but is made the son of Bhagīratha.

भगीरथात्ककुत्स्थश्च ककुत्स्थाच्च रघुस्तथा । I, 70, 79
भगीरथात्ककुत्स्थश्च ककुत्स्था येन तु स्मृताः
ककुत्स्थस्य तु पुत्रोऽभूत् रघुर्येन तु राघवाः ॥ II, 110, 28

At both these places Raghu is made the son of Kakutstha, but at both these places Raghu is made the father of Kalmāṣapāda, which, of course, is obviously wrong. Kalmāṣapāda is known to be the son of Sudāsa and Rāmāyana itself admits this in the same breath, in which it says that Raghu was Kakutstha's son. See,

ककुत्स्थस्य तु पुत्रोऽभूद्रघुर्येन तु राघवाः ॥ II, 110
रघोस्तु पुत्रस्तेजस्वी प्रवृद्धः पुरुषादकः ।
कल्माषपादः सौदास इत्येवं प्रथितो भुवि ॥ 29

Thus it is clear that Rāmāyaṇa's genealogy of Rāma is greatly distorted and yet the fact remains that it makes Kakutstha to be the father of Raghu

Now Ag. has preserved the genealogy thus —

मरीचेः कश्यपस्तस्मात्सूर्यो वैवस्वतो मनुः ॥ 5, 2
ततस्तस्मात्तथेक्ष्वाकुस्तस्य वंशे ककुत्स्थकः ।
ककुत्स्थस्य रघुस्तस्मादजो दशरथस्ततः ॥ 3

This makes Kakutstha to be the great-great-grand-father of Rāma.[2] I should note here that in 273rd Adhyāya, where Ag. gives Vaivasvata Manu's genealogy, it makes Kakutstha to be the son of Vikukṣi and father of Anenā, as in all the other Purāṇas. But in the 5th Adhyāya, where the life of Rāma is being depicted, Ag. has given the genealogy as above.

Apart from the merits and demerits of this genealogy, it is at least clear that this preserves a tradition, according to which Kakutstha was Rāma's great-

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[1] These references are to Baroda edition.

[2] This equates Kakutstha with Dilīpa. This Dilipa is called Khatvāṅga in all the Purāṇas. About him Vs. IV, 4 says:—

विश्वसहः । 75 तस्माच्च खट्वांगः योऽसौ देवासुरसंग्रामे दैवैरभ्यर्थितोऽसुराञ्जघान । 76.

This would apply to Kakutstha also as he too, had helped Devas in Devāsurasangrāma—the Ādibaka battle. It is therefore likely that Kakutstha is the same as Dilipa, the father of Raghu.

great-grand-father and therefore was not much removed from Rāma And we should remember that above, we have arrived at the same conclusion from three other independent considerations.

We are, therefore, quite justified in holding that Kakutstha was not much removed from Rāma.

5-10. *Anenā-Pṛthu-Vṛṣadaṣva-Andhra-Yuvanāśva-Śrāvasta*

Nothing helpful is known about these names. Vṛṣadaśva and Andhra are variously spelt in different Purāṇas as:—Dṛśadaśva (Bd), Viṣṭarāśva (Vnsv), Viśvaiandhi (Bg), Viśvaga (Bh, Mt), Viśvarāta (Gd), Viśvaka (Lg), Viśvavasu (Pm), Viśvagasva (Ag). Andhra is spelt as Candra (Vn, Bg), Ardra (Bh, Pm, Br, Hr), Ārdraka (Lg), Damaka (Saura), Indu (Mt), Āyu (Ag), Indra (Sv).

Anenā is given as the son of Āyu, the son of Pururavas but that is quite a different genealogy. Of course this Anenā, being the son of Āyu and brother of Raji (who was a contemporary of Bali) was at Rāma period.

Śrāvasta, is generally taken as one, after whom the city of Śrāvasti got its name.

It may be that this Yuvanāśva is the same as Māndhāta's father and that Śrāvasta was a son of Yuvanāśva, but there is no proof for it at present.

11. *Bṛhadaśva*

Bṛhadaśva, the 11th king, was the father of Kuvalāśva, as is proved from the story of Uttaṅka given under Kuvalāśva below. As kuvalāśva is not much removed from Rāma (see below), his father Bṛhadaśva cannot be much removed from Rāma.

One sage Bṛhadaśva is said to have narrated Nalopākhyāna to Yudhiṣṭhira. (Mbh. Vana, 52, 54-79).

Even in Purānas it is said that Bṛhadaśva retired to forest after passing on the kingdom to his son Kuvalāsva.

12. *Kuvalāśva*

Kuvalāśva, the 12th name is not much removed from Rāma Dāśarathi.

All the Purānas say that Kuvalāśva had killed Dhundhu and therefore was called Dhundhumāra.[1] We get the following information about this Dhundhu.

In the Mahābhārata (Vana. 201-4), it is said that Dhundhu was harassang a sage named Uttaṅka and on Uttaṅka's request Bṛhadaśva, who had left the kingdom and retired to forest, asked his son Kuvalāśva to fight against Dhundhu. Kuvalāśva went with his sons and killed Dhundhu and thereupon was called Dhundhumāra.

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[1] Vy. 87, 28-59 and other Purāṇa

Now about the sage Uttaṅka, we get the following information from Mbh. (Aśva. 53-58). Uttaṅka was a pupil of Gautama and on the request of Ahalyā, the wife of Gautama, Uttaṅka acquired golden Kuṇḍalas belonging to Madayantī, the wife of Kalmāṣapāda.

Gautama and Ahalyā were Rāma's contemporaries and therefore Uttaṅka, Dhundhu and Kuvalāśva were, more or less, contemporaries of Rāma.

I shall also show that Kalmāṣapāda was not much removed from Rāma.

However, in Mbh. (Ādi. 3rd), there is another version of Uttaṅka's story. There Uttaṅka is taken to be the pupil of Veda who himself was a pupil of Āpoda Dhaumya. According to this version Uttaṅka obtained the Kuṇḍalas from the wife of king Pausya,

If this version is true, Uttaṅka will be a contemporary of Dhaumya and Pauṣya, both of whom are at Mbh. level. Uttaṅka is actually described as a contemporary of Janamejaya in this story. In this case Kuvalāśva will be brought down to the days of of Parikṣit and Janamejaya.

But the evidence of Uttaṅka's story proves that the earliest time assignable to Kuvalāśva is that of Ahalyā *i. e.* of Rāma.

(2) Now, Dhundhu, whom Kuvalāśva killed is said to have been the son of Madhu—राक्षसस्य मधो: पुत्रो धुन्धुर्नाम्ना महासुर: (Hr. I, 11, 33; Br. 7, 63; Bd. III, 63, 29) Madhu was the founder of Madhurā and was the father of Lavana, who was killed by Śatrughna, the brother of Rāma. (Ram, VII, 63ff). This places Kuvalāśva in the days of Rāma. Madhu himself had married Kumbhīnasī, who was Rāvana's mother's sister.

(3) At one place, Māndhātā is called Uttaṅkapurahsarah (Bd. III, 73, 81) *i e.* having Uttaṅka as his purohita. Although there is a variant reading Utathya for Uttaṅka here. If Uttanka is correct, it will connect Māndhātā and Kuvalāśva. And I shall later show that Māndhātā was not much removed from Rāma and thus Kuvalāśva also will not be much removed from Rāma.

(4) Dhundhumāra is connected with Agastya and others, who are at Rāma-level. Mbh. Anu, 94, 4-5 are these:

शुक्रोऽङ्गिराश्चैव कविश्च विद्वां-
स्तथा ह्यगस्त्यो नारदपर्वतौ च ।
भृगुर्वसिष्ठः कश्यपो गौतमश्च
विश्वामित्रो जमदग्निश्च राजन् ॥ 4
ऋषिस्तथा गालवोऽथाष्टकश्च
भरद्वाजोऽरुन्धती वालखिल्याः ।

[1] C A I p-125-7.

शिबिर्दिलीपो नहुषोऽम्बरीषो ।
राजा ययातिर्धुन्धुमारोऽथ पूरुः ॥ 5
जग्मुः पुरस्कृत्य महानुभावं
शतक्रतुं वृत्रहणं नरेन्द्राः

All these, including Agastya and Dhundhumāra went to a lake where Agastya had planted a puṣkara (lotus) and Agastya saw these ṛṣis and kings drawing out that puṣkara. Puskara was ultimately drawn out by Indra.

This incident shows the contemporaneity of Kuvalāśva (Dhundhumāra) and Śukra, Aṅgirā, Kavi, Agastya, Nārada, Parvata, Bhṛgu, Vasiṣtha, Kaśyapa, Gautama, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Gālava, Aṣṭaka, Bharadvāja, Arundhatī, Vālakhilya, Śibi, Dilīpa, Nahuṣa, Ambariṣa, Yayāti and Puru.

Out of these Vaśiṣṭha, Arundhati, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagnī, Gālava (the son of Viṣvāmitra) are known to be at Rāma period. Bharadvāja is at Rāma-period, as Rāma and Bharata both had stopped at his Āśrama according to Rāmāyaṇa. Even otherwise he is at Rāma-period. Thus Kuvalāśva is at Rāma period.

13. *Dṛḍhāśva*

Dṛḍhāsva, the 13th name, was the son of Kuvalāśva. He took part in the battle with Dhundhu and is described as having swallowed fire from Dhundhu's mouth. Therefore, he is at Rāma-period.

14. *Haryaśva*

The 14th king Haryaśva is not much removed from Rāma.

In the Purānas he is given as Dṛḍhāśva's son. As Dṛḍhāśva, the son of Kuvalāṣva is at Rāma period, Haryaśva also will be at the same period.

One Haryaśva was the brother of Māndhātā and son-in-law of Madhu, the father of Lavaṇa and Dhundhu. (See Hr. II,38 comm.). If he is this Haryaśva he is at Rāma-period.

15-17. *Nikumbha-Saṁhatāśva-Kṛśāśva*

Nothing helpful is known about these kings.

Hr. I, 12,4 says that Saṁhatāśva (or Kṛśāśva) had Dṛṣadvatī as his wife, who was Haimavatī *i.e.* the daughter of Himavān. Prasenajit was the son.

18 *Prasenajit*

Prasenajit who is given as 18th from Manu is not much removed from Rāma.

(1) In Mbh. one Prasenajit is called Reṇukāś father. Vana. 116, 2 is this

स प्रसेनजितं राजन्नधिगम्य नराधिपम् ।
रेणुकां वरयामास स च तस्मै ददौ नृपः ॥ Vana. 116, 2.

This Reṇukā was Paraśurama's mother and thus Prasenajit, the father of Reṇukā will be very near to Rāma's days.

In the Purāṇas he is put as the father of Yuvanāśva, but it is not correct, as Yuvanāśva's father was Sudyumna. (see Yuvanāśva). Therefore this Prasenajit is likely to be Reṇukā's father.

Reṇukā's father though named differently in different Purāṇas is called Aikṣvāka (see Vn. IV, 7, 35).

19. *Yuvanāśva*

Yuvanāśva, the 19th king is at Rāma period, as he was the father of Māndhātā, whom I shall show below to be at Rāma period.

In the Purāṇas Yuvanāśva is put as the son of Prasenajit, but, by now, it must have been realised that such statements of the Purāṇas have no value, unless they are corroborated by other independent evidence.

In Mbh. Yuvanāśva is said to be the son of Sudyumna. In Vanaparva, 126, 10 and 12 he is called Saudyumni twice. According to the Purāṇas, Sudyumna was the name of the male form of Ilā, the daughter of Manu Vaivasvata. If Yuvanāśva was the son of this Sudyumna, he will be at the same step as Daṇḍa, the son of Iksvāku and therefore will be at Rāma period.

In Vanaparva 126, 10ff, it is said that Yuvanāśva, who had no son, went to Bhṛgu's āśrama, who performed a sacrifice for him as a result of which Māndhātā was born. Bhṛgu being the father of Cyavana is at Rāma period.

Yuvanāśva had married Gaurī, the daughter of Matināra. Mt. 49,8 says: गौरीकन्या तृतीया च मान्धातुर्जननी शुभा। Same is said in Hr. I, 32, 3.

Now, according to Purānas Matināra's great grandson was Dusyanta, the father of Bharata. I have shown that this Bharata was a contemporary of Bharadvāja, who was a contemporary of Rāma. (see 'Date of Ṛgveda', p. 8).

All this shows that Yuvanāśva is at Rāma period.

20. *Māndhātā*

Māndhātā is at Rāma period. He is a Ṛgvedic ṛṣi, being the composer of Rv. X, 134, 1-5. Being the son of Yuvanāśva he is at Rāma period. There is other evidence also to show that Māndhātā is at Rāma period.

Rāmāyana (VII, 67, 4 ff) says that Māndhātā was killed by Lavana and this Lavaṇa, in his turn, was killed by Śatrughna, the brother of Rāma (Rām. VII, 63; Bg. IX, 11, 14; Bd. III, 63, 186; Vy. 88, 185; Vn. I, 12,4; IV, 4, 101). This puts Māndhātā at Rāma period. Again, the father of this Lavaṇa was Madhu. This Madhu had married Kumbhīnasī, who was Rāvaṇa's mother's sister (Rām. VII, 25, 21-25). Thus it is definite that Māndhātā is at Rāma period.

Bg. (IX, 6, 33) says that Rāvaṇa and others trembled at the fear of Māndhātā or Trasadasyu.

In Rāmāyaṇa, there is an adhyāya (VII, Guj Press) in which, an indecisive fight between Māndhātā and Rāvaṇa is described.

According to Mbh. (VII, 62, 10), Māndhātā had defeated the following kings: Janamejaya, Sudhanvā, Gaya, Puru, Bṛhadratha, Asita and Nṛga. (जनमेजय सुधन्वान गयं पूरुं बृहद्रथम् । असितं च नृगं चैव मान्धातो मानवोऽजयत् ॥). These kings are likely to have lived at Rāma period thus.

(1) Sudhanvā, the king of Sāṅkāśya, was killed by Janaka, the father of Sītā. (Rām. I, 71, 8).

(2) One Brhadratha escaped Paraśurāma. (Mbh. I, 2, 272)

(3) Gaya and Puru(rava), along with Duṣyanta and Gādhi submitted themselves to Rāvaṇa. Rām VII, 19,5 says

दुष्यन्तः सुरथो गाधिर्गयो राजा पुरुरवः ।
निर्जिता स्मेत्यभाषन्त-

According to this, Duṣyanta, Gādhi (the father of Viśvāmitra), Gaya and Pururava were the contemporaries of Rāvaṇa. Gaya was the son of Amūrtarayas (Mbh. Vana, 95, 18 ff), who was Viśvāmitra's great uncle, being Kuśa's son (Ram. I, 32, 3). Thus Gaya was at Rāma period. Puru whom Māndhāta defeated may be Puru the son of Yayāti or Pururavas, whom Rāvaṇa defeated.

(4) Nṛga was Rāma's contemporary (Rām VII).

(5) Asita may be Sagara's father and Sagara, as we shall see, was at Rāma period.

Thus all these kings are connected with Māndhātā, Rāma and Rāvaṇa

According to Mbh (XII, 65, 122), Utathya and Vasuboma had given a discourse to Māndhatā. Bd. 73, 81 says

पञ्चमः पञ्चदश्यां तु त्रेतायां संबभूव ह ।
मान्धाता चक्रवर्तित्वे तस्योतथ्यपुरःसरः ॥

This makes Māndhātā a contemporary of Utathya.[1] Utathya was the father of Dīrghatamas. Dīrghatamas was the brother of Bharadvāja, who was a contemporary of Rāma.

There is a dialogue between Māndhātā and Sobhari in Gargasaṁhitā, Mādhuryakhaṇḍa. Bg. (IX, 6, 39) says that Sobhari had married fifty daughters of Māndhātā, but this seems to be a mistake. Sobhari Kānva is a Ṛgvedic ṛṣi and he says in Rv, VIII, 19, 36.

अदान्मे पौरुकुत्स्यः पञ्चाशतं त्रसदस्युर्वधूनाम ।

[1] There is a reading Uttaṅka for Utathya. Under Kuvalāśva, we have shown that Uttaṅka is at Rāma period

Thus it is clear that Sobhari had married 50 daughters, not of Māndhātā but of Trasadasyu.[1] Whatever it be, as Trasadasyu is only one step below Māndhātā, and as we shall see Trasadasyu is at Rāma period, this conection of Māndhātā and Sobhari puts him at Rāma period.

According to Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, Māndhātā received knowledge from Vicārin, the son of Kabandha Āthargaṇa (Vedic Index 2, 133). If this Kabandha is the same, whom Rāma met, this will put Māndhātā at Rāma period.

Mbh. (Śānti 29, 88) says that Māndhātā had defeated Marutta. Marutta being a contemporary of Saṁvarta, the brother of Bṛhaspati is at Rāma period and thus is Māndhātā at the same period.

21. *Purukutsa*

Purāṇas say that Purukutsa was the son of Māndhātā, by Bindumatī, the daughter of Śaśabindu.

शशबिन्दोर्दुहितरि बिन्दुमत्यामधान्नृपः
पुरुकुत्समम्बरीषं मुचुकुन्दं च योगिनम् ॥ Bg. IX, 6, 38
मान्धाता शशबिन्दोर्दुहितरं बिन्दुमतीमुपयेमे ॥ Vn. IV, 2, 66
तस्य चैत्ररथी भार्या शशबिन्दोः सुताभवत
साध्वी बिन्दुमती नाम—

Vy. 87, 26, 70; Hr. I, 22, 7

Thus being Māndhātā's son, Purukutsa will be at Rāma period. But Sāyaṇa has called him Durgaha's son. RV. IV, 42, 8 is

अस्माकमत्र पितरस्त आसन्सप्तऋषयो दौर्गहे बध्यमाने ।
ते अयाजयन्त त्रसदस्युमस्या इन्द्रं न वृत्रतुरमर्धदेवम् ॥

Here Sāyaṇa has explained 'Durgaha' as durgahasya putraḥ. Śatapatha Brāhmana (13, 5,5) has daurganejah as an adjective of Purukutsa,[2] which might mean 'born in daurgahana'. Sense of the word durgaha, here, seems to be prison and we may not take Purukutsa to be the son of Durgah only on this account.

At another place in RV (V, 33, 8), Purukutsa is called gairikṣit, which has been taken to mean as the son of Girikṣit.

Whatever it be, that Purukutsa is at Rāma period is certain. Bd. II, 66, 36 says

पौरुकुत्स्यभवद्भार्या गाधेस्तस्यामजायत ।

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[1] Bg makes Trasadasyu as another name of Māndhātā (IX, 6), but it is a mistake.

[2] तेन हि पुरुकुत्सो दौर्गहणेजः ऐक्ष्वाको राजा तस्मादेतदृषिणा भ्यनूक्तमस्माकमत्र पितुस्तऽआसन्सप्तऋषयो दौर्गहे बध्यमान इति Śat. Br. 13, 5, 4. 5.

According to this, daughter of Purukutsa was the wife of Gādhi, who was the father of Viśvāmitra. Thus Purukutsa was the grandfather of Viśvāmitra and is, therefore, definitely at Rāma period.

Purukutsa was a contemporary of Sudāsa who as, we shall see was at Rāma period.

22. *Trasadasyu*

Trasadasyu was the son of Purukutsa. This is quite clear from the Purāṇas and the Ṛgveda. Trasadasyu is a Ṛgvedic ṛṣi being the author of RV. IV, 42; V, 27; IX, 110. He calls himself Paurukutsya. As such he was Viśvāmitra's maternal uncle.

In Mbh. (Vana, 98) there is a story that Agastya went to Srutarvā, Bradhnāśva and Trasadasyu for wealth. About Trasadasyu it is said

पौरुकुत्स्यं ततो जग्मुस्त्रसदस्युं महाधनम ॥ Vana. 98, 12

This makes Trasadasyu a contemporary of Agastya, who was Lopāmudrā's husband as is clear from the 97th adhyāya. Agastya was a contemporary of Rāma. Shri P. L. Bhargava in his book 'India in the Vedic Age' has suggested that this Bradhnāśva should be corrected to Vadhryaśva, which is plausible. Vadhryaśva was the father of Ahalyā and thus was at Rāma period.

23. *Sambhūta(ti)*

Nothing particular is known about him but if he was Trasadasyu's son, he was at Rāma period.

24. *Anaranya*

Purāṇas, while giving the name of Anaranya at this place, put a remark that he was killed by Rāvaṇa. Lg. 65, 43-44

सम्भूतिरपरं पुत्रमनरण्यमजीजनत् ॥ 43
रावणेन हतो योऽसौ त्र्यैलोक्यविजये द्विजाः ॥

Vn. IV, 3, 17 says त्रसदस्युरतत्सम्भूतोऽनरण्यः यं रावणो दिग्विजये जघान ॥

Vy. 87 reads रावणो निहतो येन त्रिलोकीविजये पुनः, but there is no doubt that it should read रावणेन हतो योऽसौ as is seen in Lg.

Rāmāyaṇa (VII, 19) gives Rāvana's encounter with Anaranya, the king of Ayodhyā. In this battle Anaranya was killed by Rāvana.

All this shows that Anaranya was at Rāma period.

25. *Trasadaśva*

Nothing is known about him.

26. *Haryaśva*

This Haryaśva is put here as the father of Vaṣumanā. Mbh. says (Ādi, 86, 5-6) that Vasumanā was the son of Haryaśva by Mādhavī the daughter of Yayāti.

Mbh. has (Udyoga, 106 ff) a story that the sage Gālava wanted 800 black-eared horses. He went to Yayāti, who gave him his daughter Mādhavī and Gālava went to four different persons, (one of whom was this Haryaśva) whom Gālava offered Mādhavī till she had a son by him and in return he gave him 200 black-eared horses. Haryaśva had, by Mādhavī a son named Vasumanā and he gave Gālava 200 black-eared horses. Gālava gave Mādhavī, in this manner to Divodāsa, Uśīnara and Viśvāmitra.

Now Divodāsa was a brother of Ahalyā (Vy. 99, 200) and therefore was at Rāma period. Viśvāmitra also was at Rāma period therefore Haryaśva and Uśīnara and this Yayāti and Gālava all were at Rāma period.

Again, Gālava was (Vy. 88, 97) a son of Viśvāmitra. Therefore also, all these are at Rāma period.

27. *Vasumanā*

Being the son of Haryaśva by Mādhavī, he belongs to Rāma period. In Mbh. he is described (Śānti. 68, 6-7; 92, 4) as asking questions to Bṛhaspati and Vāmadeva. Vāmadeva was Daśaratha's purohita (Rām. 1, 6, 4; see also my ' Date of Ṛgveda ' p. 20-21). Bṛhaspati, being the father of Bharadvāja, at whose āsrama Rāma had stayed for a day, is at Rāma period. Therefore, also Vasumanā belongs to Rāma period.

28 *Tridhanvā*

Tridhanvā is given as the father of Trayāruna and grandfather of Satyavrata, both of whom will be shown to belong to Rāma period.

Lg 65, 45 says

तस्त पुत्रोऽभवद्राजा त्रिधन्वा भूतभावनः ॥ 45
प्रमादाद्ब्रह्मसूनोर्वै तण्डिनः प्राप्य शिष्यताम् ।
अश्वमेधसहस्रस्य फलं प्राप्य तदाज्ञया ॥ 46
गणैश्वर्यमनुप्राप्तो भवभक्तः प्रतापवान् ।

This makes Tridhanvā a contemporary of Taṇḍin. Now it is said that (Mbh. Anu. 17, 177) Śukrācārya had learnt Śivasahasranāma from Taṇḍin and Sukrācārya taught the same to Gautama. Now Sukrācārya, who is the same as Uśanā was the son of grandson of Bhṛgu, who was the father of Cyavana. Therefore all these Śukrācārya, Gautama, Taṇḍin and Tridhanvā are at Rāma period.

29. *Trayyāruṇa*

There is one Vedic ṛṣi, who is named as Trayāruna Traivṛṣṇa in the Anukramaṇī. He is the author of Rv. V, 27; IX, 110. This Trayāruṇa (also spelt as Tryaruṇa, Trayyāruṇa) is the same as the Puranic Trayyāruna, although the names of the fathers differ. In Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa, this Ṛgvedic ṛṣi is named as Trayāruṇa Traidhātva Aikṣvāka (XIII, 3, 12: see Vedic Index I, p. 332).

About this ṛṣi, there is a story given that while he was driving in a chariot, a child was killed by the chariot. And then a question was raised as to who was responsible for the death—the driver or the owner of the chariot.

Here, his father's name is given as Tridhātva and in the Purāṇas it is given as Tridhanvā. They seem to be the same. His son Trayyāruṇa will be shown to belong to Rāma period and thus he too is at the same period.

And, as this Trayyāruna is a joint author of RV, V, 27 with Trasadasyu and as Trasadasyu has already been shown to be at Rāma period, Trayyāruna is also at the same period.

30. *Satyavrata*

Purāṇas, while naming this Satyavrata usually give a story about him that he took away a bride, who was being married, before the pāṇigrahana verses were completed. His father was enraged at this and exiled him. Vaśiṣṭha did not defend him and Satyavrata was angry with him. After being exiled, he lived in the locality of the śvapacas. There he supported the wife and child of Viśvāmitra, who had gone for penance. Later, Satyavrata killed the cow of Vasiṣṭha and thus he was called Triśanku, as he had committed three sins—disobedience to his father, to his guru and killing of a cow. Later, Viśvāmitra sent him to svarga.

Here Satyavrata is connected with both Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra and as both these were Rāma's contemporaries, Satyavrata was at Rāma period. The son of this Viśvāmitra is named as Gālava (who was supported by Satyavrata—Vy. 88, 97) This Gālava, we have just shown, was at Rāma period. Thus Satyavrata is at the same period.

31. *Hariścandra*

Hariścandra, in the Purāṇas, is called to be the son of Satyavrata and father of Rohita Hariścandra, the father of Rohita, is called Vaidhasa in Aitareya Brāhmana (33). It is likely that Vedhas and Satyavrata are the same persons. Satyavrata and Triśaṅku do not seem to be the names of this person. They are likely to have been given to him for certain qualities or actions of his.

Anyway this Hariścandra is given as the father of Rohita and Hariścandra of the Aitareya Brāhmana is also the father of Rohita. Now about this Hariś-candra Ai. Br. 33, 4 says: तस्य ह विश्वामित्रो होता जमदग्निरध्वर्युर्वसिष्ठो ब्रह्मा यस्य उद्गाता। Thus Hariścandra was a contemporary of Vaṣiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni and thus is at Rāma period. That this Hariścandra had performed Rājasūya sacrifice, is confirmed by the Purāṇas also. See Vy. 88, 117.

स हि राजा हरिश्चन्द्रस्त्रैशङ्कव इति श्रुतः ।
आहर्ता राजसूयस्य सम्राडिति विश्रुतः ॥

Thus he is at Rāma period.

32. *Rohita*

Rohita, the son of Hariścandra was evidently at Rāma period, particularly as he is connected with Viśvāmitra and others who presided at his father's Rājasūya.

33-37. Harita- Cañcu- Vijaya- Ruru- Ghṛtaka (or Vṛka).

Nothing particular is known about these kings.

38 *Bāhu or Asita*

The name of the father of Sagara is given as Bāhu or Asita. Mostly it is Bāhu.

As he is the father of Sagara, and as Sagara will be shown to be at Rāma period, he, too, is at the same period.

39 *Sagara*

It is said in Rāma (I, 38)

विदर्भदुहिता राम केशिनी नाम नामतः
ज्येष्ठा सगरपत्नी सा धर्मिष्ठा सत्यवादिनी ॥ 3
अरिष्टनेमिर्दुहिता सुपर्णभगिनी तु सा
द्वितीया सगरस्यासीत् पत्नी सुमतिसंज्ञिता ॥ 4

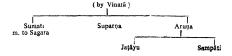
This is confirmed by Vn. which says (IV, 4, 1)

काश्यपदुहिता सुमतिर्विदर्भराजतनया केशिनी च द्वे भार्ये सगरस्यास्ताम् ।

Mt. 12, 39 calls the wives of Sagara by the name of Prabhā and Bhānumatī: but the true names seem to be Sumati and Keśinī.

Keśinī is said to be the daughter of Vidarbha. Now Vidarbha was the grandfather of Damayantī the wife of Nala, (CAI p-5). This Nala was himself the father-in-law of sage Mudgala (CAI p-5) who was the grandfather of Ahalyā (Vy. 99, 200). Therefore Mudgala, Nala, Keśinī and Sagara are at Rāma period. In Vana. 96. it is said that Lopāmudrā the wife of Agastya was Vidarbha's daughter. Thus Sagara was a contemporary of Agastya, who was at Rāma period.

Sumati, another wife of Sagara, is taken as the daughter of Ariṣṭanemi (Rām) or Kāśyapa (Vn), but she is taken as the sister of Suparna. Suparṇa is the son of Vinatā, the daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Ariṣṭanemi (Vy. 63,42). This Vinatā had another son named Aruna, whose sons were Jaṭāyu and Sampāti (Vy. 68, 326-7 and other Purānas). The relation will stand thus—

Ariṣṭanemi
(by Vinatā)

Sagara, who is thus related to Jaṭāyu is at Rāma period.

That Sagara was a junior contemporary of Ariṣṭanemi is also seen from the fact that Ariṣṭanemi had given a discourse to Sagara (Mbh. Śānti, 288, 3)

Again, the Purāṇas say that this Sagara was brought up by Aurva (Vy. 87, 131 ff)

और्वस्तां भार्गवो दृष्ट्वा कारुण्याद्विन्यवर्तयत् । 131
तस्याश्रमे तु तद्गर्भं सा गरेण तदा सह ।
व्यजायत महाबाहुं सगरं नाम धार्मिकम् ॥ 132
और्वस्तु जातकर्मादीन् कृत्वा तस्य महात्मनम्.
अध्याप्य वेदशास्त्राणि ततोऽस्त्रं प्रत्यपादयत् ॥ 133
जामदग्न्यात्तदाग्नेयममरैरपि दुःसहं
स तेनास्त्रबलेनैव बलेन च समन्वितः ॥ 134
जघान हैहयान्

Thus, Sagara is connected with Aurva and Jāmadagnya *i.e.* Paraśurāma He must have been almost of the same age as Paraśurāma.

Sagara was, thus, at Rāma period.

40-43 *Asamañjas-Aṁśumān-Dilīpa-Bhagīratha*

All the Purāṇas and Mbh. (Vana, 107) confirm the following genealogy of Sagara: Sagara-Asamañjas-Aṁśumān-Dilīpa-Bhagīratha.

Now, Sagara being a contemporary of Aurva and Paraśurāma, the relation will stand thus:

```
Aurva
  |
Jamadagni          Sagara
  |                  |
Paraśurāma         Asamañjas         Daśaratha
                     |                  |
                   Aṁsumān            Rāma
                     |
                   Dilīpa
                     |
                   Bhagīrtha
```

Thus, all these four kings are at Rāma level.

About Bhagīratha Mbh. (Anu, 136, 26-27) says:

कौत्साय दत्त्वा कन्यां तु हंसींनाम यशस्विनीम् ।
गतोऽक्षयानतो लोकान् राजर्षिश्च भगीरथः ॥ 26
दत्त्वा शतसहस्रं तु गवां राजा भगीरथः ।
सवत्सानां कोहलाय गतो लोकाननुत्तमान् ॥ 27

Now, Kautsa was an Udgātā at Janamejaya's sarpasatra (Mbh. Ādi 53, 6) and Kohala also was present at the same sarpasatra (Ādi 53, 9). In Raghu-

vaṁśa, there is a dialogue between Kautsa and Raghu, where Kautsa is yet a boy, just out of his school. In Skanda, (Vaiṣṇavakhaṇḍa, Ayodhyāmāhātmya, 5th adhyāya) it is said that this Kautsa, who went to Raghu, was Viśvāmitra's pupil.

This would make Bhagīratha a contemporary (probably senior) of Janamejaya. As I have already said that distance between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa is hardly of one or two steps, this should not be impossible.

Hr. (I, 15, 13-14) calls this Dilīpa as Khatvāṅga.

44 *Śruta*

If he was Bhagīratha's son, he is at the same period, otherwise nothing helpful is known adout him

45-47 *Nābhāga-Ambarīṣa-Sindhudvīpa*

It is said in the Purāṇas that Manu Vaivasvata had a son named Nābhāga, who had one son named Ambarīṣa. But Sindhudvīpa does not occur there (See Vy. 64, 29; 88, 5-6; Bd. III, 60, 3)

Sindhudvīpa Āmbarīṣa is a Ṛgvedic ṛṣi (RV, X,9) and Ambarīṣa Vārṣāgira is a ṛṣi of RV, I, 100; IX, 98. This gives us Sindhudvīpa-Ambarīṣa-Vṛṣāgira.

In my opinion, some one has confounded between these two Ambarīṣas and has created these three kings (Or else Nābhāga and Vṛṣāgira may be the same person.)

However, all these three are vouch-safed by independent evidence Nābhāga and Ambarīṣa are known to the Purānas and Ambarīsa, the son of Nābhāga is well-known to Mbh. Nābhāga Ambarīṣa is given in Drona 64 and also in Śānti 29, 100-1. Ambarīṣa Nābhāga is referred to in Vana. 129,2. Ambarīṣa Nābhāga is referred to in Śānti 98, 3. Thus it is clear that there was an Ambarīṣa, the son of Nābhāga. That there was an Ambarīṣa, the son of Vṛṣāgira is clear from the Ṛk-anukramaṇī.

In Mbh. Anu. 94, Ambarīsa Nābhāga is made a contemporary of Agastya (and therefore of Rāma). Sindhudvīpa is a joint author of RV, X, 98 with Ṛjiśvā who is the son of Bharadvāja.

Thus, it is very likely that all these three are at Rāma period.

48 *Ayutāya*

Nothing is known about him.

49 *Ṛtuparṇa*

Ṛtuparṇa was a contemporary of Nala, as is clear from Nalopākhyāna (Vana. 52-78). Now this Nala, as we have said, was the father-in-law of Mudgala, who was the father of Vadhryaśva whose daughter was Ahalyā

(CAI pp. 3-6). About this king Purāṇas say : दिव्याक्षहृदयज्ञोऽसौ राजा नलसखो बली ॥ Vy. 87, 172.

And thus Ṛtuparṇa is at Rāma period.

50 *Sarvakāma*

Nothing is known about him. He is omitted by Kalki, Bg, Lg, Saura, Km, Mt, Pm, Ag.

51 *Sudāsa*

Sudāsa is put as the son of Sarvakāma by the Purāṇas, but it is not so He is known to Ṛgveda as Sudāsa Paijavana. i.e. the son of Pijavana (RV. VII, 18, 22).

In the Purāṇas and Mbh. he is called the father of Kalmāsapāda, and as latter will be shown to belong to Rāma period, he is at the same period. Moreover, in the famous Dāśarājña battle of the Ṛgveda, Sudāsa is described as connected with Vaśiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra both by turns, and as both these are at Rāma period, Sudāsa also belongs to the same period.

Sk. (Nāgarakhaṇḍa, 246-7) has a dialogue between Gālava and Paijavana. This makes Sudāsa a contemporary of Gālava, the son of Viśvāmitra

52 *Kalmāṣapāda*

This king is also called Mitrasaha (Ādi. 175, 1). He is called Saudasi (Anu. 78, 1-2), the son of Sudāsa.

As we have said earlier under Kuvalāśva this king was connected with Uttaṅka and as Uttanka is at Rāma period, he is also at the same period

He was cursed by Śakti the son of Vaśiṣṭha (Adi. 175, 13-4). Vasiṣṭha himself later, procreated a son on Madayanti, the wife of Kalmāsapāda. This son was named Aśmaka. Kalmāsapāda, thus being a contemporary of Vaśiṣṭha and Śakti (the grandfather of Dvaipāyana Vyāsa) was at Rāma period.

In Vasudeva Hiṇḍī, an Apabhramśa work of the 6th century, A.D there is a story of Narabhakh Purusāda Saudāsa. According to that story this, Kalmāsapāda Saudāsa was killed by Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa. (Guj. trans , p. 255-57).

Thus also this king will belong to Rāma period. This will also show that the distance between Rāma and Kṛṣṇa was hardly of a generation or two.

53 *Aṣmaka*

He is the son of Madayanti (the wife of Kalmāṣapāda) by Vaśiṣṭha, the father of Śakti. He is thus at Rāma period.

54 *Urakāma*

He is also called Sarvakarmā in some Purānas. In Mbh. (Śānti, 49, 76-77)

the Earth talks of the Kṣatriyas, who were saved from Paraśurama's wrath. One of these was Sarvakarmā.

तथानुकम्प्यमानेन यज्यनाथामितौजसा ॥ 76
पराशरेण दायादः सौदासस्याभिरक्षितः ।
सर्वकर्माणि कुरुते शुद्रवत्तस्य स द्विजः ॥ 77
सर्वकर्मेत्यभिख्यातः

This Sarvakarmā, who is here called the son of Saudāsa *i.e.* Kalmāsapāda, was protected from Paraśurāma's wrath by Parāśara. As we have seen, Śakti, the father of Parāśara, was killed by Kalmāṣapāda and Vaśiṣṭha had procreated Aśmaka on Madayantī the wife of Kalmāsapāda. Thus this Sarvakarmā, who is said to be Kalmāṣapāda's son and a contemporary of Parāśara, was at Rāma period.

55 *Mūlaka*

About this Mūlaka, Purānas have preserved a memorial verse which says that he was constantly afraid of Paraśurāma and therefore always kept himself surrounded by women

स हि रामभयाद्राजा स्त्रीभिः परिवृतोऽवसत ।
विवस्त्राणमिच्छन् वै नारीकवचमीश्वरः ॥ Vy, 8 , 178

Thus being a contemporary of Paraśurāma, he is at Rāma period

About nos. 50-59, there is some confusion and I have discussed the same in 'Purānic chronology,' p 347-9.

56 *Śataratha*

Nothing particular is known about him.

57 *Aiḍaviḍa*

See Dilīpa below

58-9 *Kṛtaśarmā-Viśvasaha*

Nothing particular is known about them. They are mentioned by very few Purānas and are dropped by many.

60 *Dilīpa*

Purāṇas say that this Dilīpa was called Khatvāṅga (Bg. IX, 9, 41-9 & other Purāṇas). Mbh. (Drona, 61; Śānti 29) mentions a king who is named there as Dilīpa Ailavila Khatvāṅga. Now our no. 57 Aiḍaviḍa is variously spelt as Aiḍaviḍa (Vy., Bg., Bd.), Valivila (Km.), Ailavila, as it is a matronymic from Ilavilā as pointed out by Pargiter (AIHT p 39 and 241)

Now I take this Ailavila as an adjective of Dilīpa. In Mbh. as pointed out above Dilīpa is actually called Ailavila.

I think the mistake has occurred due to some confusion in the text. Let us compare the texts of Br. and Hr.

Br. अनमित्रसुतो राजा विद्वान्दुलिदुहोऽभवत् ।
दिलीपस्तनयस्तस्य रामस्य प्रपितामहः ॥ 8, 84
Hr. अनमित्रस्य धर्मात्मा विद्वान्दुलिदुहोऽभवत् ।
दिलीपस्तनयस्तस्य रामप्रप्रपितामहः ॥ 15, 24

Here we find that Br. text is evidently wrong. Br. calls Dilīpa to be Rāma's prapitāmaha, but he is really Rāma's praprapitāmaha as is given in Hr. I also think that the change of anamitrasya (Hr.) to anamitrasuto (Br.) is not warranted. It is possible to reconstruct Hr. reading thus:

तस्य अनमित्रस्य तनयः धर्मात्मा विद्वान रामप्रपितामहः एलविलः
(taking dulidaha as scribe's error) दिलीपः अभवत्.

But Mbh. is very clear in taking Ailavila as the adjective of Dilīpa. And therefore this Dilīpa was called Ailavila and Khaṭvāṅga. He was also called Kakutstha as I have suggested under Kakutsha the 4th name. Pulastya's (the grandfather of Rāvana) wife was Ilavilā, the daughter of Tṛṇabindu. (Vn. IV, 1, 47). Has Dilīpa Ailavila anything to do with this Ilavilā?

61 *Dirghabāhu*

After Dilīpa Dīrghabāhu is recognised as independent king by all except Br, Hr., Ag, Sv. But I think that he is not an independent king. Mistake has arisen from the misreading of Br and Hr texts, both of which make dīrghabāhu as an adjective of Raghu. The texts read thus:

दीर्घबाहुर्दिलीपस्य रघुर्नाम्ना सुतोऽभवत् । Br. 8, 85
दीर्घबाहुर्दिलीपस्य रघुर्नाम्नाऽभवत्सुतः । Hr. 55, 25
अनरण्यात्तु निघ्नोऽथ दिलीपस्तत्सुतोऽभवत् ।
तस्य राज्ञो रघुर्जज्ञे तत्सुतोऽपि ह्यजोऽभवत् Ag. 273, 32-33.

Thus Dīrghabāhu is an adjective of Raghu which has been made into an independent king by other Purānas. (See my Puranic chronology, p. 350).

62-65 *Raghu-Aja-Daśaratha-Rāma*

Nothing needs to be said about these kings.

This study of these 65 names brings out the following facts.

1. I have been able to show that Aiḍaviḍa and Dīrghabāhu are not independent kings. Aiḍaviḍa is an adjective of Dilīpa and Dīrghabāhu of Raghu. Kakutstha also is not an independent king, as in my opinion, it is an epithet of Dilīpa Khaṭvāṅga (no 60). This accounts for 3 names.

2. Two more names Kṛtaśarmā and Viśvamaha (nos. 58-59) I have rejected on textual grounds. This accounts for 5 names.

3. I have not been able to locate the following names.
   (1) Anenā-Pṛthu-Vṛṣadaśva-Andhra-Yuvanāśva-Śrāvasta (6)
   (2) Nikumbha-Sambatāśva-Kṛśāśva (3)

(3) Trasadaśva (1)
(4) Harita-Cañcu-Vijaya-Ruru-Ghṛtaka (or Vṛka) (5)
(5) Ayutāyu (1)
(6) Śataratha (1)

Thus about these 17 names nothing particular is known. This accounts for 22 names.

4. It has been shown that remaining 43 names are all at Rāma period and are made up of several collateral branches as under.

(1) Manu-Ikṣvāku-Vikukṣi (3)
(2) Bṛhadaśva-Kuvalāśva-Dṛḍhāśva (3)
(3) Haryaśva (1)
(4) Prasenajit (1)
(5) Yuvanāśva-Māndhātā-Purukutsa-Trasadasyu-Sambhūta (5)
(6) Anarnya (1)
(7) Haryaśva-Vasumanā (2)
(8) Tridhanvā-Trayyāruna-Satyavrata-Hariścandra-Rohita (5)
(9) Bāhu-Sagara-Asamañjas-Aṁśumān-Dilīpa-Bhagīratha-Śruta (7)
(10) Nābhāga (?)-Ambarīṣa-Sindhudvīpa (3)
(11) Ṛtuparṇa-Sarvakāma (?) (2)
(12) Sudāsa-Kalmāṣapāda-Aśmaka-Sarvakarmā-Mūlaka (5)
(13) Dilīpa (also called Kakutstha, Ailavila, Khatvāṅga) – Raghu-Aja-Daśaratha-Rāma (5)

These 43 kings are shown to be at Rāma period. These are in all 65 names. If we deduct 3 + 2 = 5 names mentioned under 1 and 2 above, we have 60 names. Out of these 60 names, 43 are definitely at Rāma period.

And all this proves that the chronological distance between Manu Vaivasvata and Rāma was not of more than three or four generations. I would put Dilīpa, Rāma's praprapitāmaha at the same step as Vivasvat.

Of course, it will be asked why are these small collateral branches made out into one long lineal genealogy. Answer to this question has been already furnished in my 'Puranic chronology', where I have shown that the Purānas have employed a method, which I have called Manvantara-Caturyuga-Method (MCM). According to this method, each king-name in the genealogy meant a time-unit of 40 years; and because in the days of Parikṣit they had taken a Yuga to have 1000 years and because they wanted, according to that calculation, 2840 years from Manu to Parikṣit, they had put 71 names in this genealogy and later the number was raised to 91 to 94 for a specific purpose. All this has been amply shown in my 'Puranic chronology'.

Before closing this study of this genealogy I want to draw attention on one point. I have, here, given several collateral branches. But I am not quite sure about the succession even there. *e.g.* :

(1) Purukutsa may or may not be the son of Māndhātā. I am sure about Sudyumna-Yuvanāśva-Māndhātā and I am sure about Purukutsa-Trasadasyu.

(2) Satyavrata may or may not be Tryaruṇas's son. Hariścandra also may not be Satyavrata's son. Satyavrata may be an epithet of Hariścandra himself. After all Hariścandra's father may be Vedhas.

(3) In the Sagara branch also Bāhu-Sagara seem to be sure; but about others I am not sure. *e. g.* Dilīpa may not be there at all.

(4) So about the branch in which Kalmāṣapāda occurs. Sudasa-Kalmāsapāda-Aśmaka are sure.

(5) The last branch of Daśaratha and Rāma also may not be what it is given. Aja-Daśaratha-Rāma seem to be guaranteed by Mbh. (Vana, 274, 6) and both the genealogies given in Rāmāyana. Raghu may not be the father of Aja. Dilīpa and Raghu may be father and son or even may not be, though I am slightly inclined to the first view. In this case Dilīpa may be the son of Ilavila daughter of Tṛṇabindu and wife of Pulastya, the grandfather of Rāvana.

And this should not surprise us. These genealogies are made up of several bits of branches and when they made them lineal they made every succeeding name to be the son of preceding name, but that is not true.

I have taken it that those names which I have not been able to identify here should belong to Ikṣvāku family and that is why I have not considered names like Anenā. But my study of other genealogies of the Purānas has created a feeling in me that the Purāṇakāras have not been always scrupulous even in this. And sometimes they have put in Solar genealogy, names of Lunar genealogy, or in one branch names of another branch.

There are certain sages like Vasiṣṭha, Viśvāmitra, Bharadvāja, Dīrghatamas, who are connected with these kings. In my future studies I shall show that they are also at Rāma period. I shall also show that all the other Puranic genealogies (except the Kali ones) are made up of branches and those kings also are at Rāma period.

FRESH LIGHT ON THE LIFE OF VARĀHAMIHIRA

By
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As in the case of many other celebrities of Sanskrit literature, our knowledge about the life and times of Varāhamihira, one of the greatest astronomer-astrologers of ancient India, is also very scanty. In the following lines it is proposed to shed new light on two points connected with Varāhamihira's life.

1. *Varāhamihira's Birth-place*

In the course of centuries a number of legends and traditions have clustered around Varāhamihira, but the only authentic information about his life is contained in the following verse from the Upasaṁhārādhyāya of his *Bṛhajjātaka* :—

Ādityadāsa-tanayas=tad=avāpta-bodhaḥ Kāpitthake savitṛ-labdha-vara-prasādaḥ |
Āvantiko muni-matāny=avalokya samyag=ghorām Varāhamihiro rucirām cakāra ||

According to this verse, Varāhamihira was an inhabitant of Avanti (Ujjayinī) and a son of Ādityadāsa from whom he had studied through the blessings of the Sun god at a place called Kāpitthaka. It would appear from this stanza that Kāpitthaka was the place of birth of Varāhamihira and that it was at a later phase in his life that he adopted Ujjayinī as his residence. It must be mentioned, however, that manuscripts give several variants of the place-name such as Kāmpilyaka,[1] Kāmpilaka,[2] Kāpiṣṭhala,[3] Kāpiṣkala,[4] and Kāpitthaka.[5] It is difficult to say which of the readings is really intended. Kāpitthaka is, however, the most popular reading[6] Mahāmahopādhyāya Paṇḍita Sudhākara Dvivedī follows the reading Kāmpilyaka and suggests that it should be identified with Kalpi near Jhansi in Uttar Pradesh[7] This view is, however, untenable, for the ancient name of Kalpi was Kālapriya, not Kāmpilyaka. According to Bhaṭṭotpala, Kāpittha was a village where there was a Sun temple (*Kāpitth-*

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[1] *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, IV, p. 11, No 1376.

[2] *Ibid*, VII, pp. 211 12, No 2453

[3] *Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras, Vol V, Part 1, p 6587, No. 4479; VI, Pt 1, p. 7196, No. 5133

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 7196, No 5233. Also *cf* Nos 2806, 3455

[5] The *Daivajña-vallabhā* attributed to Varāhamihira ends with almost the same verse as *BJ*, XXVIII. 9 cited above, *cf. Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, IV (1878), pp. 206-07, No. 1633.

[6] Even otherwise Kāpiṣṭhala (Kaithal in Punjab) and Kāmpilyaka or Kāmpillaka (Kampil, one of the ancient Pañcāla capitals) appear to be wide off the mark and as such do not deserve serious consideration.

[7] *Gaṇaka-taraṅgiṇī*, p 11.

ākhye-grāme yo'sau bhagavān savitā sūryas=tasmāl=labdhah prāpto varah prasādo yena). The place is generally identified with the village of Kayatha, situated at a distance of about 12 miles from Ujjain on the Ujjain-Maksi Road [1] Recently the Vikram Universisy, Ujjain, conducted archaeological excavations at Kayatha which have revealed the existence of an early culture at the site going back to the second millennium B. C. Remains of the statues of Sūrya and other Brāhmaṇical deities, which may be assigned to the period between 600 and 900 A.D., have also been found. It is also reported that the *kapittha* trees grow in abundance at and near about Kayatha and that a number of legends about Varāhamihira are still current there.[2] But these facts, howsoever convincing they may appear to be, do not warrant by themselves the identification of the village of Kayatha as Varāhamihira's Kāpittha or Kāpitthaka. The point at issue is neither the abundance of the *kapittha* trees nor the antiquity of the place. There are so many places where *kapittha* trees can be seen in large numbers, but they are not, for the matter of that, known by a name connected with that tree. The only point that the excavations may be taken to have established is that the place is quite ancient. They cannot go beyond it. The discovery of remains of Brāhmanical images shows that there must have been some Brāhmaṇical temples there as there were at many other places of antiquity. The legends about Varāhamihira said to be current at Kayatha appear to have been introduced after some scholars[4] suggested in our own times Varāhamihira's connection with that place. This identification may be accepted only if it is shown that Kayatha was anciently called Kāpitthaka. No such evidence has so far come to light.

There is, however, an interesting evidence bearing on the question under consideration in the account (*Si-yu-ki*) of Yuan Chwang who visited India less than a century after the flourishing period of Varāhamihira. The Chinese pilgrim informs us that the town of Sāṅkāśya (modern Sankisa in the Farrukhabad district of Uttar Pradesh) was also known as Kah-pi-t'a which has been restored as Kapitha.[5] Phonetically, Kapitha is very close to our Kāpittha. There can be no doubt whatever about the high antiquity of Sāṅkāśya. It is mentioned in the *Rāmāyana* and in the *Abhidhānatthadīpikā*.[6] The importance of the city of Sāṅkāśya in the Maurya period is clear from the fact that Aśoka chose it as one of the places for the erection of his columns. In the seventh century A.D. it was a stronghold of both the Buddhists and of the followers of Brāhmaṇical religion. Along with the four Buddhist monasteries with about 1000 inmates all belonging to the Sammitiya school, Yuan Chwang found there ten Deva-

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1 *Vikrama-smrti-grantha* (Hindi), pp. 263, 356,

2 For this information I am indebted to Professor K. D Bajpai

4 E g Pandit Suryanarayana Vyas

5 T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p 333.

6 Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (6th ed), pp. 54, 198

temples belonging to the Śaivas. In the light of these facts it appears to be more reasonable to identify Varāhamihira's Kāpitthaka with Yuan Chwang's Kapitha or Sāṅkāśya. It may thus be concluded that Varāhamihira was born and received his education at Sāṅkāśya and later migrated to Ujjain, evidently because of its high reputation as a centre of learning, especially in the field of Jyotiṣa.

2. *Varāhamihira versus Buzūrjmehr*

According to Ferishta, the king of India sent the *Pañcatantra* with a chess-board to Khusraw Nūshirwān (531-578 A.D.), king of Persia, who had it translated into Pahlvi by his minister Buzūrjmehr.[1] Professor M. T. Patwardhan[2] and, following him, Dr. A. N. Upadhye[3] have suggested that Buzūrjmehr of this tradition might have been the same as Varāhamihira. Dr. Upadhye's arguments in support of his theory may be summarised as follows:—

1. The word *mihira* in his name might, in view of the Persian and Avestan prototype of that word, imply some foreign influence. Though the claim of foreign influence is plausible, it is not a necessity; " by anaptyxis we can have (from the Vedic word *mitra*) mitira-*mihira* on the analogy of *kāṭaṇa-kāhala* ". The word *varāha* (a hog), forming first part of a personal name is not quite plausible. Thus it is not quite impossible that Varāhamihira's name might have some foreign tinge. This confirms the tradition that he lived in a foreign country for some time.

2. The word *varāha* is a corruption of *bṛhat* from the root *bṛh*, a secondary root from *vṛdh*. In view of the rules of phonetic corruption the most natural change of *bṛhat* would be *barāha*, then *varāha*. His (Varāhamihira's) original name might have been Bṛhanmitra and at an early age he got an opportunity to spend some time in a foreign country, probably Persia, where he was known as Varāhamihira or by some such akin name. But Varāhamihira itself is a more easily pronounceable form of Buzūrjmehr.

3. The presence of the word *bṛhat* in the titles of two of his works might not be accidental; the author might be indicating his own name there, for though the " *Bṛhat-jātaka* may be in contrast to his *Laghu-jātaka*, but it must be remembered that there is no *Laghu-saṃhitā* as against the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, a title like *Garga-saṁhitā* etc. "

The theory is indeed ingenious but the arguments adduced in its favour do not carry conviction. There is no need to resort to anaptyxis to derive the word *mihira* from Vedic *mitra*. There is nothing unusual in the word *mihira* forming part of the name of a person who is known to have been a devout follower of

[1] Brigg, *Ferishta*, I, pp 149-50.

[2] *Umarakhayāmachyā Rubāyā* (Marathi), notes, p 3, cited by Dr. Upadhye.

[3] *IHQ* , 1933, pp. 984-986.

the Persian form of Sun-cult which was introduced in India sometime about the beginning of the Christian era. In fact the word MIIPO, which is phonetically closest to *mihira*, occurs as the designation of the Sun god on some coins of the Kuṣāṇa kings Kaniṣka and Huviṣka.[1]

There no doubt exists a tradition to the effect that Varāhamihira visited a foreign country. Firstly, in the absence of reliable data it is not possible to ascertain the veracity of this tradition. Secondly, even admitting that there is some truth in this tradition, the country he visited must have been Greece or Rome, for he exhibits a good understanding of Greek astrology, uses some thirty-five Sanskritised Greek astronomical terms[2] and extols highly the proficiency of Greeks in astrology.[3]

The word *varāha* in a personal name may not be quite palatable but, as admitted by Dr. Upadhye himself, is not quite unprecedented. Even such opprobrious names as Śunahśepha, Kauṇapadanta, Vātavyādhi and Śvetāśvatara are known to early Indian literature. Even the word *varāha* as a part of personal names or as an independent name is found in several early inscriptions.[4]

The word *bṛhat* is used by Varāhamihira in the titles of four, not two as stated by Dr. Upadhye, of his works, *viz. Bṛhajjātaka*, *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, *Bṛhadyātrā*, *Bṛhadvivāhapaṭala*. Further, it does not indicate the author's name but stands in contrast to the abridged versions of these works. Thus, just as we have a *Laghujātaka* in contrast to the *Bṛhajjātaka*, so also we have a *Svalpa-* or *Samāsa-saṁhitā* as against the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* A number of verses from this abridged version are quoted by Bhaṭtotpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*. I have recently edited these quotations with a short introduction and notes.[5]

Even admitting for a moment that Varāhamihira visited Persia, it would appear to be extremely strange that in his own works he should have referred to himself and should have been known in his native country (India) not by his original name, Bṛhanmitra according to Dr. Upadhye, but by a name which is a corruption of its foreign form (Buzūrjmehr).

To sum up, the identification of Varāhamihira with Buzūrjmehr of Persian tradition is not tenable.

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[1] Allen, H Wood III, *The Gold Coin-Types of the Great Kushānas*, pp. 8, 11, 21 etc.

[2] H. Kern (ed.), *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, Introduction, pp 28-29, fn 1, Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, pp. 254-255

[3] *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, II.14.

[4] Cf. Luders' List, No. 1131; Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 9, 13, 67, 1195, 1196, 1323, 1712.

[5] *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. XXIII.

THE ROBBERS OF THE FORESTS

By

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According to the P.T.S. Pāli-English Dictionary, the word *aṭavī* means 'a forest', 'an inhabitant of the forests' or 'a wild tribe'. Reference is made to the expression *aṭavi-corā* (robbers of the forest) in the commentary of *jātaka*, Vol. VI, No. 55, and *aṭavī-rakṣika* (interpreted as 'guardian of the forest') occurring in *Jātaka*, Vol. II, No. 335. Mention is also made of the expression *aṭavī sankopa* used in some manuscripts of the *Anguttaranikāya* (*cf.* Vol. I, p 178) in the sense of 'inroad of savage tribes'.

The *aṭavī-rakṣika* was, however, really 'a forest-guard' and not 'a guardian of the forest'. In *Jātaka*, Vol. II, No. 265 (*Khurappa-jātaka*), they are described as living in a village near a forest and as taking the responsibility of helping travellers and caravans in passing through the forest without being robbed by the dacoits inside it. The story relates as to how a merchant of Vārāṇasī paid one thousand coins to an *aṭavī-rakṣika* who saved him from the attack of a gang of 500 armed robbers in the forest. The *Vedabbha jātaka* (Vol I, No 48) speaks of a forest through which passed the road between the Vārāṇasī and Cedi countries and wherein at least two gangs of 500 dacoits each made the lives and property of the travellers utterly unsafe Of course 500 in these cases is a conventional number. In any case, these forest-robbers were either the forest-folk or outsiders who made the forest the field of their nefarious activities. Other haunts of the dacoits were the waters and deserts though we are not concerned with them for the present. Piracy on Indian waters is well attested by both Indian and foreign writers, while the depredations of the Hurs in the deserts of Sind and Baluchistan persist even today.

There is some evidence to show that often the forest-folk were habitually criminal and lived on robbery. The *Sattigumma-jātaka* (Vol. IV, No. 503) speaks of a *cora-grāma* (robber' village) on the slope of a hill in the woods of the Pañcāla country. A well-known tale in the *Pañcatantra* (Section I) relates to the Foolish Friend and the Sensible Enemy. According to the second of the two stories, a group of five travellers was passing through a forest-village of the aboriginal Kirātas who attacked them for the purpose of robbing them of their wealth as they used to do in the case of rich people passing by that road. Arthur W. Ryder's translation of the *Pañcatantra* (p. 201) describes the village as 'a Bhil village nestling in a rugged bit of jungle'. The story makes it clear that the forest folk of the said village were habitual dacoits. The well-known story of Jīmutavāhana in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Taraṅga XXII)

mentions a gang of robbers who were foresters and one of whom was the Śabara chief Pulindaka. Among other stories offering similar evidence in the said work, mention may be made of Taraṅga XXXVII speaking of a village of robbers in a forest, who earned their living by docoity. For such accounts of wild robber tribes like the Bhilla, Kirāta, Śabara and Pulinda, the students may be referred to M. Bloomfield's excellent article entitled 'On organised Brigandage in Hindu Fiction' appearing in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 205 ff. It may be noted that Al-Bīrūnī regarded the Kirātas as mountaineers and the Pulindas as hunters of the plains, who were robbers (Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 262).

That roads passing through forests were not safe in early and medieval India for travellers, especially pilgrims and traders, is clear from numerous other stories and accounts. According to the *Life of Hiuen-tsang* by Shaman Hūi-li, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang who visited India in the second quarter of the seventh century, encountered a gang of 50 bandits in a great forest of *palāśa* trees near the town of Śākala, modern Sialkot in the Punjab. The pilgrim and his companionsw ere deprived of their clothes and other belongings and were pursued by the robbers with drawn swords. A Brāhmana peasant who happened to appear on the scene with 80 armed followers, succeeded in dispersing the robbers and saving the lives of the victims (Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 146). The armed followers of the peasant appear to have been no other than the forest-guards mentioned in the Jātaka literature referred to above.

We also know that criminal activities of the same type persisted till quite recent times. G. F. Whiteworth says that there were dacoits who were robbers by profession and brought up their children to the same occupation. They were banditti with strongholds to retire to and often committed raids on a large scale, a gang in some cases numbering several hundreds (*Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, s.v *Dacoit*).

The word *aṭavī* is used in the sense of the habitually criminal forest-folk in Rock Edict XIII of the great Maurya emperor Aśoka (c. 272-232 B C.) In this edict, Aśoka explains the change in his internal and external policies inuntiated after the horrible experience of the Kalinga war in which 100,000 people died in action, 1,50,000 were carried away captive apparently to be sold in the slave market and many times that number died due to the famine and pastilence resulting from wars. This change of policy was indicated by the king by stating that he had renounced the approach of settling disputes by warfare altogether and was eager to win the heart of the peoples within his own empire as well as in the dominions of the neighbouring kings by love and toleration and by preaching the ideals of what he called Dharma. And in the same context he declared that 'even if a person should wrong him, the offence would

be forgiven'. But he was conscious of the fact that it was not possible for the king to forgive all crimes, and that is why he added a clause to the sentence to say, 'the offence would be forgiven if it is possible to forgive it'. It is indeed interesting to note that, at the same breath, Aśoka made the significant statement, "And the forest-folk (*Aṭavī*) who live in the dominions of the Beloved of the Gods (i e. Aśoka), even then he entreats and exhorts (in regard to their duty). It is (hereby) explained to them that, in spite of his repentance, the Beloved of the Gods possesses power (enough to punish them for their crimes) so that they should turn (from evil ways) and would not be killed (for their crimes)".[1]

The habitually criminal nature of the *Aṭavī* or forest-folk seems to be quite clear from the section of Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka cited above

[1] See Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 2nd ed, 1965, p 35; *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 53.

ŚIVAISM IN BALI
Two Hypotheses

By
C. HOOYKAAS, London

A. When J. O. van Leur wrote his 'Eenige beschouwingen betreffende den ouden Aziatischen handel' (Ph.D. thesis Leiden; den Boer, Middelburg, 1934), translated as 'On early Asian trade' in his 'Indonesian trade and society, Essays in Asian social and economic history' (publ. W. van Hoeve, The Hague-Bandung, 1955) he developed the following new hypothesis about Hindu 'colonisation' in his third chapter (III/viii):

'The Indian priesthood was called eastwards—certainly because of its wide renown—for the magical, social legitimation of dynastic interests.....The official religious activities of these overseas states alike show the unmistakable imprint of Indian civilization on.....Indonesia.....'

This postulate or hypothesis has been received favourably by those working in the field, and though Mrs M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz, in her 'Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630' (Nijhoff, The Hague, 1963) has directed her criticisms to other parts of his book, this theory has not been refuted. But, neither has it been substantiated, as far as I know. Real proof will be difficult to find. But in Balinese writings passages can be found leading in the same direction as Van Leur's claim, thus supporting it to some extent.

B. When Sylvain Lévi, after a few weeks' stay in Bali in 1928, wrote his 'Sanskrit Texts from Bāli' (GOS LXVII, 1933), he remarked (p. IX bottom).

> 'If the traveller happens to be admitted into the house of a local 'priest, of a pédanda as they call him, he will witness the same worship that is practised all over India, a regular Sandhyā sevana.'

This is not true; the sources forming the basis of this assertion are four, viz.,

- (a) Aghora-Sivācārya-paddhati, discussed at length by Carl Gustav Diehl in his 'Instrument and Purpose, Studies on Rites and Rituals in South India' (Gleerups, Lund, 1956);
- (b) 'Das Pūjāvidhinirūpaṇa des Trimalla' by Fausta Nowotny, JII I, 1957, pp. 109-54;
- (c) 'Rauravāgama, Vol. I' by N. R. Bhatt, Publication de l'Institut Français d'Indologie No. 18, Pondichéry 1961 (Maisonneuve, Paris VIe);

(d) 'Somaśambhupaddhati, Le rituel quotidien dans la tradition śivaite de l'Inde du Sud selon Somaśambhu, première partie' (id, ibid. No. 25, 1963).

In my 'Sūrya-Sevana, The Way to God of a Balinese Śiva Priest' (in course of being printed and to be published by the North Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam), a rather detailed, though not exhaustive, comparison has been made between South Indian daily ritual and daily ritual in Bali, as a result of which I came to the conclusion that though numerous 'building materials' and tendencies are common to them, there are fundamental differences in structure, and that these differences invalidate Lévi's statement. These factors require an explanation and, in the hope of promoting discussion, I venture to present a hypothesis, seen exclusively from the Balinese side, to account for them.

A. Hinduism reached the Indonesian archipelago in the first half of the first millennium A D. The 'support' I offer to Van Leur's hypothesis on Bali's Hinduism—and it is only a 'support' and not an attempt to *prove* his theory—dates from the second half of the second millennium, about 1500 A D. to be more precise. Van Leur envisaged Hindu priests going from India to pre-Hindu Indonesia in remote times, whereas 'my' Brahmin priests originate from Majapahit, Java's capital, which had declined in importance by the middle of the 16th century, and cross to a Bali, already Hinduized to a certain extent.

The first priest bore the unpromising name of Nirartha (disadvantage, lack of sense, destitute) but, nevertheless, the then King of Bali Vatu Renggong, who resided in Gèlgèl-Svecchapura, thought it advantageous to himself to receive his *dīksā*, consecration. He therefore sent one of his highest functionaries the court poet, Pangéran Davuh Balé Agung ('Commanding in the Council Hall'), to invite Nirartha to court. The poet, who conducted a learned conversation with him, was much impressed by his erudition, in which there was no 'lack of sense'. Finally, everybody hastened to serve Nirartha who wrought miracles by being *siddha-mantra*, one whose formulas were effectual. He begat many sons from whom the present-day Balinese Śiva priests are descended, and was therefore also considered to be rich

C. C. Berg in his 'De Middel-Javaansche Historische Traditie' (Ph D. thesis Leiden, Mees, Santpoort 1927) speaks of this Nirartha, drawing mainly on the 'Kidung Pamañcangah' (id., ibid, 1929). Since the Middle-Javanese text has not yet been translated, and as Berg wrote in Dutch, it seems advisable to renarrate or summarize part of his argumentation.

Nirartha was a Śaiva brahmin from Majapahit who travelled about from one place to another. While in Bali he was credited with several miracles and there he also wrote a considerable number of poems. In this way he became

the spiritual father of the Balinese brahmins. He married the daughters of several of his hosts, to whom he had given a *dīkṣā*, who considered this supreme gift as being their *pang-guru-yaga*, 'fee to the *guru* for the consecration and the instruction preceding it'.

From Majapahit he went to the old capital, Daha; from there to Pasuruhan, the more provincial capital; next to Blambangan (the most eastern part of Java), and then, without apparent reason, he crossed to Bali. In the small village of Gading Wani he earned the gratitude of the villagers, who had been struck by a sickness, by curing them. When their headman came to pay his respects to Niraitha and to express his gratitude, the priest gave him a *dīkṣā*.

A close relative of this headman, the Pankéran of Mas, in Central Bali, invited the now famous priest to stay with him. Nirartha accepted and was very well received; the relations between the two men became so close that Nirartha gave a *dīkṣā* to the Pangéran of Mas as well.

During Nirartha's stay in Mas, he was walking one day on the leaves of the lotuses in a pond (which, it can be presumed, was made in order to provide the flowers needed daily during the worship of the Sun as it is practised in Bali), when he saw the God of the Great mountain, Gunung Agung (which erupted with such damaging effect in 1963), and forthwith sank into the water up to his ankles. Nirartha's comment was: "The God of Bali is very touchy; it is evident that He is Mahādeva who cannot be equalled". Here it should be noted that tradition ascribes these words to Nirartha, the acknowledged forefather of all Balinese Śaiva brahmins.

The fame of the priest reached the King, Vatu Rènggon, who was a historical figure, and he sent Pangéran Davuh Balé Agung to conduct Niraitha to court immediately. The courtier, before inviting the priest, engaged in a polite conversation with Niraitha, and as both were poets, their conversation lasted for hours. Each felt himself inspired by the other and each composed several poems shortly afterwards. The Lord Davuh Balé Agung was much interested in philosophy and metaphysics, and in the years preceding his meeting with the priest he had set at the feet of one *guru* after another, the holy number of seven in all, receiving their *dīkṣā* but still feeling dissatisfied. In this sphere the priest was by far his superior, a fact which the courtier expressed by reseating himself at a lower level than the priest. It was only afetr a few days had passed that the two poets went on their way to the the court at Gèlgèl.

In the meantime, the King had become impatient at the non-arrival of his envoy and the priest and had gone to Padang Bay for a great fishing party. The catch was a poor one, but on Nirartha's arrival the fish became abundant. Later, on the return journey to the court, he again demonstrated his miraculous power by making it possible for the King and his party to cross a swollen river.

The King, however, was reluctant to ask the priest for his *dīkṣā*, but even without his having received it, the mere presence of the great priest contributed to the King's purification, power and glory.

The Lord Davuh Balé Agung, however, took the opportunity to receive a *dīkṣā*. Seven times in the past he had been consecrated by the island priests, but not to his satisfaction. Now, the great priest from Majapahit was prepared to be his *guru* and finally to give him his *dīkṣā*. As a result of this teaching and consecration, which must have been in the nature of a conversion and to which he devoted a poem, his literary work gained in depth (Nirartha himself felt equally inspired to write many a poem).

A younger version of this story, not in concise metrical form but in prose, and not accessible when Berg wrote his two books mentioned previously, gives more details and continues the story (Babad Sĕngguhu Asu-Asa, No. 1063 of Gĕdong Kirtya, Singaradja, Bali; a considerably shorter version in K 1110, same title, K 278, same title; 506 Kalavasan Pĕṭak).

According to this story, after returning to the court from the fishing party, the King had a long conversation with the priest, in which the King assured him of his *bhakti*, devotion, *vāhya* as well as *adhyātmika*, exterior as well as interior. He told him that, in sending the Lord Davuh Balé Agung to Nirartha, it had been his intention to follow the *śāsana*, rules of life, for the *kṣatriya*, regulating the relations with the brahmans, and to ask for purification (*i.e.* to be followed by consecration). But the Lord Davuh had taken his time and had obtained his purification first. This had been a disappointment to him and it was now his intention to invite another brahman from Majapahit He hoped that Nirartha would not take offence.

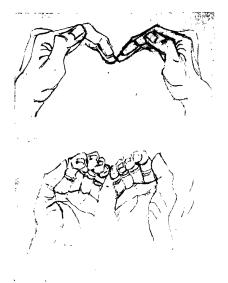
Nirartha was agreeable to the proposal, and the King sent for a 'fresh' brahman, Mpu Ḍang Hyang Kāñcana (*i.e.* gold ; *mas* has the same meaning). This priest, however, was unwilling to undertake the long journey to a foreign country, the more so because his 'brother' in Bali might be more competent to perform the ceremony.

The King sent a second envoy to point out that the consecration he was to have received from Nirartha had already been enjoyed by the Lord Davuh. The priest's reply was, that the King must be ignorant of the fact that *dīkṣā* is like *Dharma*: it is to be enjoyed, it is eternal, it is indestructible.

The King, however, did not accept this argument and sent a third envoy, and Ḍang Hyang Kāñcana could no longer refuse the invitation to bestow upon the King the consecration he desired so much.

On an auspicious day the brahman set out for Bali. He did not, however, go straight to Gèlgèl in the South East, but east, to the Great Mountain. The

A Balinese Siva Priest, wearing the ornaments befitting the God, after the Śiva soul has descended into his heart (N B His *mudrā*, that of *kara-sodhana*, cleansing of the hands, does not belong to this stage of the ritual but to a preparatory one)

Photograph from Tyra de Kleen, 'MUDRĀS. The ritual handposes of the Buddha priests and the Śiva priests of Bali', London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co Ltd, 1924, by courtesy of the publishers

Two stages of Balinese VYOMA-MUDRĀ
drawing by
I Gusti Ngurah Kĕtut Sangka Krambitan (Tabanan), Bali

God of the Mountain asked the brahman the purpose of his journey and having learned it, showed him His hand (s), from which the brahman saw the Flaming Fivefold Fire, *Pañcāgni*. The brahman, overawed and afraid of arriving late at court (he might have learned something from the envoys), did not answer a final question, asked by the God, whereupon the God became *antarlina* (inherent according to the Monier Williams, but in Bali : he vanished).

Ḍang Hyang Kāñcana then continued his journey to Gèlgèl. Arriving there he purified the King, consecrated him and then returned to Majapahit.

Some points of this narration deserve special attention. First, the *dīkṣā* that the Lord Davuh received, preceded by purification. from a priest from overseas, was considered to be of such importance that it was better than all the (seven) indigenous consecrations; it improved the quality of his poetry, and perhaps its quantity. Nothing is said about the King after his consecration, but the remark that the mere presence at court of the holy priest Nirartha contributed to the King's purification, power and glory, perhaps implies that a proper *dīkṣā* would have multiplied or intensified these qualities.

The King of Gèlgèl probably did not know about the *dīkṣā* that Nirartha had bestowed upon the village headman in the extreme west of his realm, nor of that conferred on the Pangéran of Mas, but he did know about that given to Pangéran Davuh. In speaking of the Lord Davuh's *dīkṣā* the King, and his second envoy, reveals how he regarded this event: "Pangéran Davuh has eaten the consecration destined for me". A Balinese King is never allowed to eat anything left over by anyone else, not even anything left over from offerings to the Gods. According to a Balinese folk-tale, anyone daring to offer such food to the King, even someone of priestly status, commits a mortal sin and, with his family, is put to death; this happens even if he is only suspected of this crime. King Vatu Rènggong, however, had the political wisdom to maintain good relations with the Lord Davuh. To the miracle working priest from Java he explained how he felt about the situation, and upon the priest's accepting his suggestion to ask another brahman to come from Java, was able to establish excellent relations with him as well.

On receiving the King's invitation, the second brahman from Majapahit argued that *dīkṣā* = *dharma*. But the King persevered, so he gave in and set out on his journey. From this story it seems justifiable to draw the following conclusion that belief in the great importance, personally and for the exercising of their duties, attached to purification followed by a consecration of a king, or a courtier, given by a priest from overseas, is given expression even in a modern writing. The act itself is of so powerful a nature that it can only be performed once by the priest, at least where a King is concerned. Admittedly the writings are modern and the consecration was bestowed upon a King who was already a

Hindu—but up to the second world war the old spirit still predominated in Balinese writings. And so, though these paragraphs are not presented as a proof of Van Leur's hypothesis, with his Western reasoning and theoretical approach, they do furnish support for it, from an Eastern narrative and from the practical side.

One final remark concludes this discussion on the first point. Whether it is the 16th century metrical Kidung Pamañcangah or the modern prose Babad Sĕngguhu Asu-Asa—the brahman priest from overseas has to acknowledge the superiority of the God of the Great Mountain. Nirartha unexpectedly got his feet wet when he was parading so proudly on the lotus leaves. and in this humiliating way was reminded by the God that it was He who ruled over Bali. Kañcana was clearly better informed and, though eager to fulfill his mission in Gèlgèl, considered it his duty first to make the long detour in order to pay homage to the God of the Great Mountain. This is quite a logical way of thinking. The 'specialist' from overseas, whose help is invoked, must first pay his respects to The Highest Authority, Who, in the case of Nirartha, proved to be stronger than the power residing in Nirartha himself.

B. Since my 'Sūrya-Sevana' is now in course of printing, it is not necessary to repeat here what I have said in it ; I should, however like to draw to the foreground two (out of several) major points of difference between South Indian and Balinese Saiva daily ritual and to present a theory to account for them.

B'. The first is that, in South India, *amṛtī karana*, the preparation of Holy Water, seems to be of little consequence to priest and layman; the preparatory *Sūrya-pūjā* followed by the final *Śiva-pūjā* being the essence of and the focal-point of the worship. In Bali, on the other hand, there is only the *Sūrya-sevana*, the worship of Śiva-Sūrya or Śiva-Āditya. This is as often called *kārya toya*, preparation of Holy Water, because for the worshipper this is the culmination of his worship and its aim, and it is the only thing that interests the layman.

B''. The second point is that during part of the South Indian ritual the God ia attended to as though He were an earthly ruler: the Somaśambhupaddhati (III 76b-85a) deals briefly with all the different items: Aghora-Śivācārya's manual, judging from Diehl's pages 118-19 and 122-23, is more elaborate. The God is washed, dried, anointed, adorned with a flower, given food etc. None of this is done in the Balinese daily ritual, but in the Balinese ritual for the spirits of the dead, a similar set of acts is performed.

B'. I am more of a philologist than an anthropologist, and, moreover, during my years in Indonesia I sat in my study and travelled and talked with people perhaps less than I should have done. But nevertheless I do recall that there were a great number of *tīrtha*, holy bathing places in Muslim Java and Lombok, as well as in Hindu Bali. In some of them there were 'century-old'

tortoises or albinoeels the presence of which made the water holy. This holy water had the quality of making men wealthy, women fecund and it was a cure for sickness. The ponds of Lingsar in Lombok were visited by Hindu and Muslim, Indo-European and Indo-Chinese. I am inclined to surmise that belief in the supernatural power of water, in these islands, is not only pre-Christian and pre-Muslim but pre-Hindu as well.

Indonesian belief in (sources of) holy water is happily combined with pure Sanskrit terminology. A few years ago I watched a Balinese ruler, suffering from a skin disease, setting out on a pilgrimage to 'Nava-tīrtha, the Nine Holy Bathing Places which are sung about in a sub-division of the daily ritual of the Saiva priest. The nine places that he visited were not those of the Sanskrit hymn, which sets them in India, but Balinese holy bathing places, presumably pre-Hindu. The ruler was accompanied and assisted by his court priests who took care of the ritual.

Ḍang Hyang Kāñcana returned to Majapahit after he had performed the task for which he had been invited to Bali. Not so Ḍang Hyang Nirartha. He made Bali his permanent abode. He married the daughter of the village headman and also the daughter of the Pangéran of Mas and, according to tradition, fathered the first Balinese Śiva priests. His Balinese wives, and his children as well, reared in Balinese pre-Hindu or at the least pre-Nirartha beliefs and practices, would have felt themselves dependent upon Holy Water. Nirartha knew how to prepare the Holy Water Supreme, *amṛti-karana*, and he believed that this Holy Water was by far superior to any other. Is it not conceivable that, in the course of time, Nirartha's priestly activities evolved in the direction of a form of a worship of which the aim was the preparation of Holy Water?, the worship consisting of homage to Śiva-Sūrya, and the preparation of Holy Water being His act. To-day this is still the idea underlying daily worship; *āgama-tīrtha* is the religion of Bali.

I would hesitate to ascribe the present-day form of *Sūrya-sevana=kārya toya* to Nirartha or to his sons or grandsons; it might date from the 17th century, though probably it is much older. What I want to state is the hypothesis that in Bali Hindu religion eventually came to care for the spiritual needs of the Balinese population, the first need perhaps being the keen desire for Holy Water of the highest power. In presenting this hypothesis, I cannot rule out the possibility that a ritual comparable to the Balinese *Sūrya-sevana=Kārya Toya* may be found to exist in South India but until it is found, my argument may be acceptable.

B. Tourism and propaganda have familiarized everybody with the fact that Balinese cremations, either or actual corpses or of symbols representing them, are great occasions, and rightly anthropologists may speak of their

potlatch character. Less well is known the fact that only a small minority of the Balinese are cremated; for example, in the village in which I lived, Gitgit, five miles distant from the then capital, Singaradja, and situated on the great North-South road, nobody could remember that an inhabitant had ever been cremated, neither did one take place during my two-and-a-half years' stay there.

This does not mean that the dead were neglected; far from it. The aristocracy specially were given to huge cremations. The most recent one was held in Gianjer, because the court had to maintain a tradition in the field, but I did not see it. I only know of the propaganda that was produced by the Indonesian Official Tourist Bureau and of the plane loads of Government guests.

Mrs. Katharene Mershon, co-author of Jane Belo's 'Trance in Bali' (preface by Margaret Mead, Columbia University Press, New York, 1960), wrote to me about the final ceremonies called *Bukur* or *Ligya* (*śrāddha*) which she had the privilege of witnessing at the Karangasèm court in 1937. In 1908, when the Dutch army occupied his territory, the ruler of Karangasĕm, then still a young man, had had to organize the final rites for his relatives. The occupation was rather inconvenient for him, for at a certain moment he had had to surrender a close relative, but the ceremonies (taking a week, day and night) were continued. Twenty nine years later he considered it his duty to bestow the same ritual care upon his relative who had, in the meantime, passed away and had been duly cremated. It took him half a year of preparation and cost him a fortune, notwithstanding all the gifts and help that whole villages contributed to their feudal lord, but once the whole series of ceremonies was completed, he felt proud of his achievement and relieved from his task on earth

It is known that the Dayak of Kalimantèn (Borneo) hold huge ceremonies-for-the-dead, which they call *tivah*, just as in Bali, and I should like to see a comparison made between the two I hope that the preceding paragraphs may be sufficient to bring to mind the prominence in Bali of the cult of the dead, a cult to which the Government sponsored 'Bali, Cults and Customs' out of its five chapters, devoted Chapter IVb

Two contemporary monographs have been devoted to the cult of the dead in Bali, but the preparations and the rites take so much time and are so complicated and, moreover, are different for the four castes, that only a team of field workers and a multi-volume work of their research could cope with the whole thing. Here I only intend to print a brahman priest's recitation—that of the Saiva priests is the same as that of the Bauddha—lasting a minute or two; it reads as follows (no endeavour has been made to correct the Sanskrit):

Toyantu pitaro deva, toyantu ca pitamaha,
toyantu prapitamaha, sagana saparivara (*duk avèh toya*).

Water, be offered to the deified fathers,
Water, be offered to the grandfathers as well,
Water, be offered to the great-grandfathers,
With their attendants and retinue (*when water is offered*).

This formula is then repeated, but with *lépana* (ointment); then with *puṣpa* (flowers), then with *tiṣṭhantu* (*sic*), when the wish is expressed that these categories of beings should be seated; then with *jaghrantu* that their attendants should pay attention; with *tigantu*, that they should enjoy a betel quid (the quid consists of three, *tiga*, ingredients); with *bhujyantu*, that they should enjoy their food; then with *trppyantu*, that they may be satisfied; and findly, with *kṣamantu*, that they may be forbearing.

This act is found in the MSS. called *Śava-vidhāna*, Disposition of Corpses (K 464 & 1168), *Pitr-pūjā*, Worship of the Forefathers (K 36) and *Pūjā Pitr* (K 69), *Pūjā Narpana Śava* (from *tarpana*), Worship to satisfy the spirits of the dead (K 2178, Bauddha) and (*Ma*)*Ligya* (K 71; name of the final ceremony; the word is probably derived from Tamil *maligai*, palace, meant to be a turret, the focal point of this huge ceremony).

This set of formulas, which are almost synonymous and are closely related, is also easily recognized in Lévi's 'Sanskrit Texts from Bāli', p. 85 lines 3-12: the same set is given on p. 83 line 21. A few lines earlier, 15-18, the reading is as follows.

om om Pitṛbhyaś ca Mātṛbhyaś ca namah svāhā;.. ...
oṃ oṃ Pitāmahebhyah svāhā, oṃ Mātāmahebhyah svāhā;
om om Prapitāmahebhyah svāhā, oṃ Pramātāmahebhyah svāhā.

om homage be to the (manes of the) fathers and the mothers,
om homage be to the (manes of the) grandfathers and the grandmothers;
om homage be to the (manes of the) great-grandfathers & the great-grandmothers.

The BUDDHA VEDA printed on pp. 73-85 is not 'the Buddhist counterpart of the Brahmanical Veda (what is meant is· *Śaiva Veda-parikrama* or *Sūrya-sevana*; C. H.; Lévi goes on: it contains the complete daily worship of the Buddhist priest' (p. XXIX bottom), it is in fact the beginning of the worship of the dead and ends abruptly. Lèvi must have misunderstood his informants and obviously he himself could not make sense out of this ritual, which he printed without any rubric (cf K 2255, Codex Or. Leiden 4165, Buddha Vèda).

It will be clear that In Bali, that part of the South Indian Śaiva ritual dealing with the 'personal care' of the God, as if He were an earthly ruler, is performed for the spirits of the dead and is used exclusively in the death rites. My only explanation is, that the pre-Hindu Gods of the Balinese, for whose worship the Balinese were desirous primarily of performing an adequate ritual, were in

fact the spirits of the dead. Nirartha and his sons, corporeal and spiritual, knew about ritual and worship ; and they, moreover, were masters of a language used by priests but unknown to the layman, but their Balinese sons and grandsons, in using this part of South Indian daily worship, transferred it to a complex and elaborate death ritual. The framework of this ritual was pre-Hindu, the formulas, in part, being elaborated in Hindu times. Lévi's presentation of Buddha Veda ends abruptly, perhaps not accidentally, where the formulas became too predominantly Indonesian ; his book did deal with *sanskrit* Texts from Bāli.

Some support for this hypothesis might be found in the fact that the *puṅu* (awakening) part of the *Sūrya-sevanā* (my G') appears to have been borrowed from the death ritual, where it rightly belongs.

Finally, this seems the place to refer to the remarks made earlier: that, mighty though the God of Nirartha and of Kāñcana may be, Bali is ruled over by the God of the Great Mountain. Is the evidence on which such an interpretation is based too slender for it to be out of the question to say: " Verily, he is without peer " ?

I have chosen to go into some aspects of Balinese ritual because of the publication of Lévi's book by the Baroda Oriental Institute, to which my lamented friend Bhatt devoted his *bhakti* for so many years.

MAHIMNASTAVA

By

V. S. AGRAWALA, Varanasi

The *Mahimnastava* is one of the foremost *Stotras* in Sanskrit literature. It is committed to memory by many a devotee of Śiva with the object of daily recitation. Recently Dr. Norman Brown has brought out a sumptuous edition with an introduction, critical text, English translation and thirty-nine illustrations taken from the manuscript preserved in the Baroda Museum, Baroda. This excellent edition in the best *format* gives a new status to this Stotra and compels renewed scrutiny about its age, authorship and contents. In our own study, we have come across several points which we are noting here.

Authorship:

The reputed author of the *Mahimnastava* is Puṣpadanta. The learned editor treats him to be a superhuman character and writes that on the basis of the known material he is unable to decide who this Puṣpadanta was. As usual the commentators have confused his human identity. The following three legends are cited about him which make facts more hazy:—

" There is a legend attached to the authorship of this Stava, which is reported in some of the commentaries. A certain heavenly attendant upon Śiva named Puspadanta, the tale goes, composed it to regain the favour of the God, which he had inadvertently lost. The story does not say anything further about the identity of this Puspadanta, but possibly it would have to identify him with Puspadanta, also a heavenly attendant upon Śiva, who appears in the frame story of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The latter had surreptitiously listened to Śiva secretly reciting the Great Tale to Pārvatī, had told it to his wife, who relayed it back to Pārvatī, thereby arousing the goddess's blazing anger, first against Śiva, for telling her, as she thought, an old and well-known story when he professed to be telling one entirely new; secondly against Puṣpadanta when she discovered his eavesdropping, and finally, against a companion who interceded for him. Puṣpadanta was cursed to fall from heaven and be born as a mortal, with the proviso that he would be restored to heaven when he related the tale to a certain other denizen of heaven who had also been cursed to be born on earth. In his human existence, the tale says, Puṣpadanta was the grammarian Vararuci-Kātyāyana, minister of King Nanda, who ruled in the 4th century B.C. Vararuci-Kātyāyana was, according to *Kathāsaritsāgara*, a contemporary of the grammarian Śarvavarman, composer of *Kātantra,* a brilliant linguist and devisor of a teaching method by which he shortened the time necessary for

King Sātavāhana to learn Sanskrit from a minimum of six years to a mere six months, thus setting a standard for our modern linguists to work up to."

"The Puṣpadanta associated with the *Mahimnastava*, whether the one who figures in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* or another, also got into trouble through his devotion to Śiva, according to the legend. He was chief musician (*gandharva*) of the gods, and used to make a flower offering every day to Śiva. He got the flowers by flying invisibly through the air to a certain king's garden every night and plucking them. The flowers were missed, but no one could catch or even see the thief. At last the gardeners hit upon a plan. They scattered flowers around which had been offered to Śiva in worship so that the thief would tread upon them. The unlucky Puṣpadanta, suspecting nothing, actually trod upon them, in this way showing disrespect to Śiva, though unwittingly, and in consequence lost his status as *gandharva* and at the same time his power to travel through the air and to remain invisible. Thus he was caught. It was only when he had composed this hymn of praise to Śiva that he regained his heavenly condition and was restored to Śiva's court "

"How old this legend is I cannot say. The manuscripts regularly ascribe the *Stava* to Puspadanta and some of them call him a *gandharva*, but our oldest version of the text, an inscription which will be mentioned below, does not allude to him The ascription does not, of course, settle the point about the authorship. Even if we leave aside any question of superhuman character of Puspadanta, we know no poet Puspadanta elsewhere in Hindu Sanskrit literature, though one may have existed. It is possible, that the real author, whoever he was, may have put the poem in the mouth of the 'gandharva Puspadanta', Śiva's attendant, either to 'document' it and give it versimilitude or merely because he thought Puspadanta an appropriate literary character for composing and reciting it. Another possibility is that some one of the various Vararucis known in Sanskrit literature was the author and the ascription to Puspadanta came from the latter's legendary association with Vararuci-Kātyāyana. Such speculations, lacking any support, are not worth much consideration. Besides being attributed to Puṣpadanta, the work is also occassionaly ascribed in manuscripts to a human author Grahila or Kumārilabhaṭṭa (the latter on the authority of a commentary by a Decāmātya),[1] possibly meaning the philosopher Kumārila, who lived about the beginning of the 8th century.[2] The ques-

[1] See D. C Bhattacharya, Indian Antiquary, Vol. 46, 1917, p 164, referring to the 'Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Oriental Library, Mysore, No 11120. See also in the Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, Vol. 2, pt 2, No 7118. See also in Madras Catalogue of manuscripts, Vol. 19, Nos. 7517-7521, "where futher details of the author, son of Annayāmātya, are given" (statement in India Office Catalogue).

[2] See A. B. Keith, History of Sans. Litt, p. 374.

tion of authorship unfortunately is not answerable on the basis of materials known to me, "

There is no historical substance in these legends or concocted stories but there is some evidence by which it is possible to make Puṣpadanta a human author. The epithet *gandharva* is not to be assigned to a mythical race of super-human beings or celestial musicians but it was the general title applied to the people of Gandhāra during the Gupta period. The best evidence is that of Kālidāsa that the people living on the eastern and western banks of the Indus with their capitals as Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvatī respectively were known as gandharvas, an unmistakable synonym of Gandhāra. It appears that the birth place of Puṣpadanta was somewhere in Gandhāra; the application of the title *gandharva* after his name points to the implication that he had made his home outside the country of his birth and this new place could only be Kashmere which was the centre of Sanskrit learning from Gupta period onwards as shown by the discovery of the Sanskrit Tripiṭaka in the Leh-Ladakh region. It is a common practice that when a person born in a different province comes to settle down in a different place outside his own state he becomes known to the local people after the name of his previous birth place. On that model the epithets Bengali, Madrasi and Marwari are added to personal names even today and thus Puṣpadanta gandharva denoted that Puṣpadanta migrated from the gandharva country, that is Gandhāra. (Kālidasa *Raghūvaṁśa*, 15, 88–9).

The identity of gandharva with Gandhāra is also implied in the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa* where Bharata is said to have been sent on a military expedition to the country of the gandharvas and thereafter his conquest founded the two capitals of Taksaśila and Puskalāvatī (Viṣṇudh.Purāṇa, p. 125, I-204-10). Here also the name gandharva was the geographical appellation of the Gandhāra country.

In the *Ahirbudhnya Samhitā* (42.44) there is mention of a king of Saurāṣṭra named Śrutakīrti having marched to conquer the gandharva country. At first he was foiled in his attempt but later on he worshipped Lord Viṣṇu standing within the circle of a Great Wheel (*Mahācakra*) with 64 spokes and two fellies (*chatuḥ shashṭyāra-samyute nemidvayānvite devaṁ madhye*, Ah. B. 42.67). This description surprisingly agrees with the *Cakra Vikrama* type of coin issued by Candragupta Vikramāditya excepting that the 62 extra hands of Viṣṇu have not been shown due to want of space and the aesthetic judgment of the designer. On one side of the same we have one big wheel with 64 spokes and 2 fellies within which stands god Visṇu. This coin or commemorative medal of which only one specimen has been found upto now in the Bayana hoard answers to this description and seems to have been issued by Candragupta Vikramāditya after his march against the Bāhlīka country as stated in the

Mehroli inscription when he became victorious over the Gandhāra country also. He had then become the emperor of the Saurāṣṭra region also. In all probability the Śrutakīrti story seems to refer in a veiled manner to that historical event and mentions the people of Gandhāra as the gandharvas. Whatever we may think of this last reference there is hardly any doubt on the basis of the reference in the *Raghuvaṁśa* that in the time of Kālidāsa Gandhāra was known as the country of the gandharvas, and this is the epithet that was reasonably applied to Puṣpadanta who was a native of Gandhāra.

There is one more probable reason showing that the Mahimnastava was composed in Kashmere. It is there that the *Mahimnastava* is memorised by men, women and children from early boyhood and recited throughout life as a religious duty, a practice observed only in Kashmere and nowhere else in North India or in Bengal or in the South. Its composition by an author of Gandhāra settled in Kashmere is therefore very probable.

About the date of the composition of the *Mahimnastava*, Dr. Norman Brown writes:

"Just as the authorship of the Mahimnastotra is unascertainable by me, so too is the date. The earliest known text is a stone inscription at the Amareśvara temple at Māndhātā in the district of Nīmāḍ on the northern bank of the Narmadā river. This is dated, but unfortunately the second digit of the date is damaged and the year may be either Samvat 1120 or 1220. The complete date works out to either November 21, 1063 A D. or October 27, 1163 A D (See N. P. Chakravarti, Epigarphia Indica, Vol. 25, part 4, October, 1939, pp. 183-185. This inscription is reproduced and discussed by Gaurishankar Ojha in '*Kalyāṇa*', *bhāga* 8, *aṅka 1*, Gītā Press, Gorakhpur, Śrāvana, 1990 (August 1933), pp. 467-471). This date for the existence of the Mahimnastava is possibly pushed back by the fact that stanza 18 (*rathaḥ kshoṇī*, etc.), appears in Somadeva's Yaśastilaka (Kāvyamālā edition, part II, p. 55) written in A.D. 959 (see D. C. Bhattacharya, loc. cit), where the author of the stanza is said to be a certain Grahila, while stanza 5 (*kimīhah kimkāyaḥ*, etc). is quoted in Rājaśakhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* 8-16, datable according to Stchoupak and Renoue at the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century.[1] Possibly a still earlier date is justified, since

[1] See N. Stchoupak and L Renoue, *la Kāvyamimānsā de Rājaśekhara*, Paris, 1946, pp. 4, 119 Cf C. D Dalal and R. Anantakrishna Sastry, *Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol 1, 191, 1916, p 37 Prof V Raghavan has also kindly supplied me with the information that the same stanza is found in Narayanakantha's commentary on the *Mṛgenrdāgama* (Kashmere Text Series 50, p 30) where the 'author of the verse is given as Siddhacūḍāmaṇi but this is only descriptive epithet of the author as the foremost among the Siddhās. Narayanakantha is later than Utpaladeva (900-950), guru's guru of Abhinavagupta, and earlier than Aghoraśiva (middle of the 12th century) and may be assigned to c. 1075-1100 '.

the work is quoted in Jayanta Bhaṭṭa's *Nyāyamañjarī*, belonging to the 9th century.[2] I have not been able to see the latter work and identify the quotation."

Dr. Norman Brown is to be accredited with the ransacking of Sanskrit texts for quotations of the *Mahimnastava* stanzas which takes the date to about the 9th century. But we have several other reasons to believe that the date of the *Mahimnastava* goes back several centuries earlier and may be placed somewhere in the best period of the Gupta literary epoch, most probably 5th century A.D.

The first reason is that its style is that of a *Dvātriṁśikā* composition, that is, a small *Kāvya* of 32 stanzas. This literary form was evolved in the early Gupta period as is well-known by the 32 *Dvātriṁśikās* of Siddhasena Divākara who was a court-poet of Candragupta Vikramāditya and lived about 400 A D. He is reputed to have composed 1024 verses and divided them into 32 *Dāvtriṁśikā* comopositions, 22 of which have come down to our own day and are devoted to different topics. Dr. Norman Brown accepts that the first 31 stanzas formed part of the original poem but doubts about the genuineness of the 32nd one, although all the three stanzas, namely, Nos. 30, 31, and 32 are omitted in the version inscribed on the walls of the Amareśvara temple. We think that if verses 30 and 31 can be accepted as genuine there is no reason why stanza 32 be also not accepted as original, specially on the basis of the *Dvātriṁśikā* style of the poem.

The second argument which is almost decisive is the mention of five great philosophical and religious schools which formed part of the intellectual ferment during the Gupta Age. In verse 7 these are named as Trayī, Sāmkhya, Yoga, Pāśupata and Vaisnava, that is, Pāñcarātra. These were together known as *Kṛtāntāpañcaka* and a clear reference to them is found in several Purānas and the Mahābhārata as follows —

Sāmkhyaṁ yogaṁ pāśupataṁ vedā vai pañcarātrakaṁ /
kṛtānta-pañcakam hyetad gāyatrī ca śivā tathā //
Agni Purāṇa, 219/61

Evamekaṁ sāmkhyayogaṁ vedāraṇyakameva ca /
Parasparāṇyangānyetāni pañcarātraṁ ca kathyate //
Mahābhārata, Śānti P. 336/76

Sāmkhyaṁ yogaṁ pañcharātraṁ vedāḥ pāśupataṁ tathā /
Jñānānyetāni rājarṣe viddhi nānāmatāni vai //
Mahābhārata, Śānti P. 337-56

Sāmkhyayogaḥ pañcharātraṁ vedāḥ pāśupataṁ tathā /
Kṛtānta-pañcakam hyetacchāstrāni vividhāni ca //
Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 2/22/133

[2] A. B. Keith, op. cit. pp. 135-221, published in the Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, Vol. 8, No. 10, 1895.

Trayī was the name given to the Vedic doctrine which was also known as *Vedāraṇyaka*, *Upaniṣad* and *Vedānta*. By mutual understanding the other four schools accepted the authority of the Vedic tradition and incorporated in their teachings the principles of Vedic philosophy. The *Sāṁkhya* in this list was the re-organised school of philosophy with theism as its core, that is, a belief in the existence of *Iśvara* and as such was given the title *Pañcaviṁśaka*. The *Yoga* doctrine was of a practical nature and was acceptable to others as indispensable for the purpose of religious discipline or *Sādhanā*, Both the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas incorporated the teachings of *Aṣṭāṅga Yoga* as part of the practical side of their religion.

The *Pāśupata* school of the Śaivas and the *Pañcarātra* school of the Vaiṣṇavas were two most important religious denominations that held the field during the Gupta epoch. They created a vast body of literature and almost a country-wide organisation which drew within its fold not only the people but also kings and emperors. As such these five great schools mentioned by Puṣpadanta reflect a feature of a particular epoch in which they were flourishing together. This reference to them is deliberate and not a haphazard reckoning. With this background in view the chronological question is put in its proper perspective and we may link it with the other references to *Kṛtāntapañcaka* in the Purāṇas and the epic. On this firm basis, the composition of the *Mahimnastava* has been taken back to the Gupta epoch when these Āgamas or Prasthānas were evolved with their pointed differences and also similarities, and a covenant to work together as a team to meet the forces of Buddhism.

I communicated this point of view and others that follow to Dr. Norman Brown and with rare candidness he wrote to me in his letter dated August 1, 1965:—

"I should also add that I think your idea of Gupta-period authorship of the *Mahimnastava* very interesting indeed especially since you have referred to so many literary items parallelling points appearing in the text."

The additional material which supports the chronological consideration set forth above is rooted in art and sculpture on the basis of which Puṣpadanta organised his Stotra in the form of certain exploits of Śiva (*Śiva-Līlā*) which were given their first plastic representation in Gupta times.

In verse ten there is the theme of the *Jyotirliṅga* form of Śiva, that is a Great Pillar of Light which is measureless. It is known to us in the form of millions of suns in one axial alignment form which untold universes have come into existence. Brahma desired to bring it within the measure of computation but he did not succeed in reaching to the top of the *Jyotirliṅga*. Thus spoiled in his attempt he wanted to cover it up by telling a lie that he had reached the upper end and was ultimately given a curse and excluded from worship. The

other god was Viṣṇu who intuitively realised the greatness of *Jyotirliṅga* as being beyond all measure and making a circumambulation of the Pillar of Light declared his conviction that no one could ever get to the end of that which was endless. Brahma represents that approach of the intellect and Viṣṇu that of the heart. This aspect of the *Jyotirliṅga* of Śiva was represented in art of which a sculpture is preserved in the Bharat Kala Bhavan of the Banaras Hindu University and which should be assigned to the late Gupta period.

In verses eleven and twelve is the theme of Rāvaṇa worshipping Śiva by offering his head and then inflated with pride of strength lifting Kailāsa on the forest of his arms but getting the worse by Śiva by crushing him with the pressure of his great toe. This topic of Rāvaṇa lifting Kailāsa is also mentioned by Kālidāsa in the *Meghadūta*:

gatvā cordhvaṁ daśamukhabhujocchvāsitaprasthasandheḥ |
Kailāsasya tridaśavanitā darpaṇasyātithiḥ syāh || 1.58

This subject is carved on a sculpture found in the Mathura school which on the basis of its animated style and vividness of depiction has been assigned to the early Gupta period. It is carved in the typical red sandstone of Mathura and is faithful representation of Kailāsa shaken by this great upheaval and still retaining its balance by the counter force exercised by Śiva. The sculpture may be assigned to the last quarter of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. This very subject is treated again at Elephanta and Ellora but they are later in date by a few centuries and assignable to the middle of the eighth century.

There is no doubt that in the time of Kālidāsa (c. 4th century) the subject was included in the list of Śiva's exploits and Puṣpadanta also welcomed it in the *Mahimnastava* composed by him according to a rational and well-thought out plan. (Mathura Museum, *Kailāsottolana*, No 2577).

In verse fourteen there is reference to the drinking of poison by Śiva which subject has been rarely depicted in sculpture. But there is a carved slab of *Samudra Manthana* by the Asuras and Devas, which is in Gupta style and now preserved in the Museum at Gurukula Kangri (see my ' Studies in Indian Art ', pp. 267-8).

In verse fifteen is mentioned the *Madana dahana līlā* of Śiva which is the theme of *Kumārasaṁbhava*. Its representation in Brahmanical sculpture has not yet been discovered but there are many scenes of *Māradharṣaṇa* found in the Buddhist art of the Gupta period which was an identical version of the *Kāmāntaka līlā* of Śiva.

In verse sixteen there is a graphic description of Śiva as Naṭarāja performing his *Tāṇḍava* dance. It was a very favourite subject for the artists and a very powerful image was recently found from the Uchchahers Śiva temple which is in the true early Gupta style, when this theme was for the first time carved in stone.

This sculpture is now in the collection of Mrs. Pupul Jayker, New Delhi and I published it in my paper entitled: " A survey of the Gupta Art and some sculptures from Nachna Kuthara and Khoh", Lalita Kala no 9, Plate VIII, fig. 5 April 1961. Kālidāsa also has referred to Śiva's dance in the *Meghadūta*. (I. 36)

In verse seventeen is the subject of the descent of Gaṅgā from heaven on the matted locks of Śiva. This theme is represented on a beautiful Śiva Liṅga in the collection of Mrs. Jayaker and published by me in the same paper. The image is in the best Gupta style.

In verse ninteen is a reference to the *Cakravapus* or the *Cakrapuruṣa* form of Viṣṇu which was an important religious doctrine of the pañcarātra Bhāgavatas which is dealt with in a most elaborate manner in the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā revealed by Śiva to Nārada. The *Cakrapuruṣa* form of Viṣṇu is represented on the Cakravikrama type of gold coin issued by Chandragupta Vikramāditya, most probably after his conquest over the Bāhlīka country. This indicates the chronological position of the legend of Viṣṇu assuming the form of Cakra. The story in itself is a masterpiece of the synthesis between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism that was the hall mark of the religious philosophy during the Gupta age as shown in the writings of Kālidāsa and several Purāṇas

In verse 21 is the mention of the destruction of the sacrifice of Dakṣa by Śiva in his Bhairava form (*Dakṣa Yajña Vidhvaṁsa*). Fortunately this theme has been illustrated on a couple of big terracotta plaques which were once fitted in the frieze of the middle terrace of the Śiva temple discovered at Ahicchatrā and which is assignable to the Gupta epoch. The plaques were published in my paper on 'Ahicchatrā Clay Figurines' as No 4 of *Ancient India* (Plate LXI).

In verse 23 there is reference to the Ardhanārīśvara form of Śiva which also began to be represented in the Gupta sculpture, as found in several images of the Mathura school.

In verse 26 is a clear statement of the *Aṣṭamūrti* form of Śiva which was an important plank of the Pāśupata doctrine as inculcated in the Liṅga Purāṇa. It was a very popular belief in the Gupta period as shown by Kālidāsa invoking the *Aṣṭamūrti* form in the beginning of his two dramas, *Mālavikāgnimitra* and *Abhijñānaśākuntala*. I have given an interpretation of the *Aṣṭamūrti* form of Śiva in my paper: on '*Aṣṭamūrti Śiva* published in the book entitled: 'Sparks from the Vedic Fire' (pp. 117-122). Kālidāsa was very fond of this doctrine having referred to in *Raghuvaṁśa* (5.4 and 2.35). Bāṇa also refers to it in the *Harṣacarita*, saying that it was symbolised by the *Aṣṭapuṣpikā* form of Śaiva darśana. The eight forms of Śiva comprised the five gross elements of matter, the twofold energy of Prāṇa and Apāna and the Mind as making the eight principles of manifestation (*pratyakṣamūrti*). No Gupta image has yet

been traced showing these eight forms but a big sculpture of about the 8th century was found at Parel near Bombay in which seven images of Śiva are conjointly shown and that appears to be the interpretation of the sculptor who fashioned that form and chose to omit the eighth or the invisible mind.

In verse 28th there is again a mention of the *Aṣṭamūrti* form as rooted in the Vedic tradition found in the *Yajurveda* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (6.1.3. 18).

In verse 29 is a *Namaḥ Stotra* of Śiva composed in summary form after the model of the Śatarudriya book XVI of the Yajurveda which inspired many other beautiful Stotras in the Purānas and the Bhāgavata.

Puṣpadanta was a great master. The excellence of his poetic art is self-evident which creates a lasting impression on the mind. In the *Mahimnastava* he put up a window to admit the best that was then known about the exploits and iconography of Śiva. He must have taken great pains in organising the motifs of this Stotra. He was well-versed in the tenets of classical philosophy and religious doctrines and he has selected such of them as have ennobled the Stotra to a high degree of perfection. In verse 9 he refers to two schools of philosophy, namely those that advocated that the world is permanent as the adherents of Veda, Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Pāśupata and Pañcharātra schools. On the other hand there were schools of philosophy that preached the impermanence of the world and these appear to be the advocates of Yogācāra school or the Vijñānavāda philosophers of Buddhism. These were the two major divisions of metaphysical thinkers that flourished in Gupta time and Puṣpadanta is faithful in drawing a picture of the religion and philosophy of his age

In verse 18 he mentions the mountain chariot of Śiva which he furnished in his fight against Tripura. It is the cosmos as the chariot in which Brahmā is the charioteer, Sumeru the bow the sun and moon are the two wheels and Viṣṇu is the arrow. The idea of such cosmic divine chariots was a favourite theme in the Purānas and four of them are mentioned, namely the one for Sūrya, (*Matsya Purāṇa*), the other for Śiva (*Liṅga Purāṇa*) and the third for Kārttikeya (*Matsya Purāṇa*) and the fourth for Devī (*Mārkandeya Purāṇa*).

THE ŚIVASŪTRAS AND MUSIC

By

A. N. JANI, Baroda

It has been the general tendency of the Indian orthodox mind to trace the origin of any branch of learning to some divinity especially to the Lord Śiva. Thus the tantras are mostly attributed to Śiva, who is described there as revealing their secrets to his consort Pārvatī. According to tradition the Vaiśesika philosophy was revealed to the sage Kanāda by the Lord Śiva in the form of an owl (*Ulūka*) hence known as the *Aulūkya-darśana*. Another tradition recorded by the Kāśikākāra attributes the fourteen *sūtras* giving the Sanskrit alphabet and adopted by Pānini to get abbreviated formulas therefrom to employ them in his grammar, to Śiva. The Kāśikākāra says—" At the end of His dance, the Lord of dancers produced from his *ḍamaru* (a small drum) the sanskrit sounds in the form of fourteen *sūtras*, with a view to uplifting the sages like Sanaka etc."[1]

These *sūtras* are therefore known as the *Śivasūtras* or the *Māheśvarasūtras* (coming from the Maheśvara—The Great Lord).

These *sūtras* form the foundation of the system of Pāninian grammar. Similarly they are also pressed into service in the works on the *tantra-śāstra*.

Recently I came across a small MS. called *Śrīrudraḍamarūdbhavasūtra-vivaraṇam*, in the possession of the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. The author whose name and place etc. are not given therein, tries to correlate seven fundamental musical notes (*svaras*) of the Indian classical music to some of these *Śivasūtras*.

Description of the MS.

Name: Śrīrudraḍamarūdbhavasūtravivaranam.
Owner: Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner.[2]
No.: 3443, S. No. 101.
Author: Anonymous.
Material: Paper.
Script: Devanāgarī.

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[1] नृत्तावसाने नटराजराजो ननाद ढक्कां नवपञ्चवारम् ।
उद्धर्तुकामः सनकादिसिद्धानेतद्विमर्शे शिवसूत्रजालम् ॥ (p. 4, बालमनोरमा)
cf. also. येनाक्षरसमाम्नायमधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।
कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥ (p. 388, सिद्धान्तकौमुदी)

[2] I thank H. H. The Maharaja Saheb of Bikaner for granting me permission to use the MS and publish the contents thereof.

Folios: 8 (right margin of folio 1 is torn).
Size: 6″×3.5″.
No. of Stanzas: 46.
Lines per page: 6-7.
Letters per line: 19-20.
Remarks: The MS is written in bold and legible letters.

Contents[3]

The MS originally deals with music and begins with the word—"*Atha gāndharvam*". After describing the types of the songsters, their merits and drawbacks, the author mentions 6 types of the *sūtras*, of which Rudra or Māheśvara is one. The author says that the *Raudrasūtra* has been adopted by the sages like Pāṇini and his followers.[4] The first *sūtra* has 3 letters (*a, i, u*). The second two (*r, l*). The third two (*e, o*) and the fourth also two (*ai, au*). Thus the four *sūtras* give in all 9 svaras (vowels).[5] The author in order to identify the *svaras* (musical notes) of the music with the *svaras* (vowels) of the *Śivasūtras* now proclaims that really speaking the *sūtras* give 7 *svaras* only, the *r* and *l* being non-entity.[6] Thus according to him the second *sūtra* is purposeless—of course as far as the musical *svaras* are concerned.[7] From the point of view of the *mātrās* the first *sūtra* is called a *laghu-sūtra*, the third one a *gurusūtra* and the fourth one a *plutasūtra*. After this he identifies both types of *svaras*, gives their classification as *udātta*, *anudātta*, and *svarita* and mentions their location on the *śruti* scale.[9] This may be given in the tabular form as under:—

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[3] Detailed contents and the full text will follow in a subsequent article.

[4] रौद्रमङ्गीकृतं तेषु पाणिनीयमुनीश्वरैः ॥ २१ab ॥

[5] त्र्यक्षरं प्रथमं सूत्रं द्वितीयं द्व्यक्षरं मतम् ॥ २१ ॥
तृतीयं द्व्यक्षरं प्रोक्तं चतुर्थं द्व्यक्षरं स्मृतम् ।
चत्वारः(रि) म्वरसूत्राणि म्वरास्तैस्तु नव स्मृताः ॥ २२ ॥

[6] सप्तैव ते स्वराः प्रोक्तास्तेषु ऋऌनपुंसकौ ॥ २३ab ॥

[7] त्रिसूत्रैस्ते स्वराः प्रोक्ता द्वितीयं तु निरर्थकम् ।

[8] लघुसूत्रं तु प्रथमं गुरुसूत्रं तृतीयकम् ॥ २४ ॥
चतुर्थं प्लुतसूत्रं स्यात्

[9] अइउण् सरिगाः स्मृताः ।
एओङ् मपौ, धनी ऐऔच्, द्वेधा सप्तम्वराः मताः ॥
उदात्ते (तौ) निषादगान्धारावनुदात्ते (तौ) रिधौ स्मृतौ ॥ २५ ॥
स्वरितप्रभवा ह्येते षड्जमध्यमपञ्चमाः ॥ २७ ॥
एवं ते त्रिविधाः प्रोक्ताः वे[द]शास्त्रविशारदैः ।
चतुःसप्ताङ्कविधिसप्तदशविंशतिद्वाविंशतीतिसप्तस्थानसंस्थिताः शुद्धाः ॥

Śivasūtra order	Music order	pitch	Place on *śruti* scale.
अ	स	स्वरित	4
इ	रि	अनुदात	7
उ	ग	उदात्त	9
ए	म	स्वरित	13
ओ	प	स्वरित	17
ऐ	ध	अनुदात्त	20
औ	नि	उदात्त	22

After giving the *mūrcchanās* the author proceeds with the treatment of the *tāla*, where also he tries to correlate the *tālamātrās* (smallest unit of *tāla*) to the *Śivasūtras* referred to above. Thus he says the first *sūtra* contains 3 *mātrās*, the third one two *gurumātrās* and the fourth one two *plutamātrās*. Hence they can be called *laghutraya, gurudvandva* and *Plutadvandva*. Thus every *sūtra* contains *tāla*.[10] The third *sūtra* forms the third form of the *prastāra* of four *mātrās*. The fourth one the first form of the *prastāra* of the six *mātrās* and the first two *sūtras* form thirty-sixth form of the *prastāra* of the five *mātrās*.[11]

This is followed by the enumeration and explanation of the ten *prāṇas* (essentials) of the *tālas* and the MS comes to an abrupt ending.

Thus the author tries to correlate here the *svaras* of music with the *svaras* of the *Śivasūtras* and tries to raise the dignity of music by such identification.

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[10] मात्रात्रयात्मकं सूत्रं प्रथमं सार्धमात्रिकम् ॥ ३६ ॥
तृतीयं गुरुयुग्मेन चतुर्थं प्लुतयुग्मतः ।
लघुत्रयं गुरुद्वन्द्वं प्लुतद्वन्द्व स्वरे भवेत् ॥ ३७ ॥
तालात्मकं जगत्सर्वं तालस्तु व्यापकः स्मृतः ।

[11] तृतीयं सूत्रं चतुर्मात्रिकप्रस्तारे तृतीयं रूपम् ।
चतुर्थं सूत्रं षण्मात्रिकप्रस्तारे प्रथमम् ॥ ४० ॥
प्रथमसूत्रद्वयं पञ्चमात्रिकप्रस्तारे षट्त्रिंशतितमम् ॥

PÂLÂGALÎ

By

M. A. MEHENDALE, Poona

Pālāgalī[1] occurs only at a few places in the ritual literature. It is the name of the fourth, and in rank supposed to be the lowest, wife of a king. The other three wives of a king, in order, are *mahiṣī*, *vāvātā*, and *parivṛktā*. These are mentioned in the description of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. cf. *catasro jāyā upakḷptā bhavanti / mahiṣī vāvātā parivṛktā pālāgalī / sarvā niṣkiṇyo 'laṁkṛtā mithunasyaiva sarvatvāya / tābhiḥ sahāgnyagāram prapadyate pūrvayā dvārā yajamāno dakṣiṇayā patnyah /* Śat. Br. 13.4.1.8.[2] "Four (of the king's) wives are in attendance—the consecrated queen, the favourite wife, a discarded wife, and the Pālāgalī, all of them adorned and wearing gold ornaments (neck-plates) —with the view of the completeness of conjugal union. With them he enters the hall of the sacrificial fires—the Sacrificer by the eastern, the wives by the southern, door" (Eggeling, Tr. Śat. Br. Part V, p. 349). The status and the function of *pālāgalī* has been clarified by Eggeling on the Śat. Br. 13.2.6.7 (Part V. p. 313, f.n. 2) where he observes, "The fourth and lowest wife of the King the Pālāgalī, though present at the sacrifice, does not take part in this ceremony, probably on account of her low-caste origin, as the daughter of a messenger, or courier".

The meaning 'daughter of a messenger, (*dūtaputrī*) has been assigned to *pālāgalī* in a commentary called the Saṁkṣiptasāra on the Kāty. Śr. S. 20.1.12. It is obviously based on *pālāgala* which means a messenger (*dūta*). This word occurs in the description of a rite called *ratninām haviṁṣi*, which forms part of the Rājasūya sacrifice.[3] Thus we read in the Śat. Br. 5.3.1.11: *atha śvobhūte pālāgalasya gṛhān paretya......adhvana ājyaṁ juhoti /.......praheyo vai pālāgala adhvānaṁ vai prahita eti /........etad vā asyaikaṁ ratnam yat pālāgalaḥ /* "And on the following day he goes to the house of the courier,.... he offers ghee to the way,...... Fort he courier is to be dispatched, and when dispatched goes on his way.......And he, the courier, assuredly is one of his (the king's) jewels". (Eggeling, Tr., Part III, p. 64). On the basis of *pālāgala's* association with *adhvan*, and in view of the fact that he was dispatched on business, it seems

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[1] The variant *pālākali* occurs in the Āp. Śr. S. 2.10.2.

[2] Also *cf.* Śat. Br. 13.5 2.5-8; Kāty. Śr. S. 20 1.12 and Śāṁkh. Śr S. 16.4.4. I have not been able to verify the reference, Kāty. Śr S. 20.8.25 given in BR Wörterbuch.

[3] J. C. Heesterman, The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration, pp. 49-57. From the chart to face p. 49 it is clear that *pālāgala* as a *ratnin* occurs only in the White Yajurveda.

proper that the word is taken to mean a messenger.[4] Moreover, in the Kâty. Śr. S. (15.3.13), the word *pālāgala* does not occur, but instead only the word *dūta* occurs, *caturgṛhītam juṣāṇo 'dhvājyasya vetu iti dūtasya*, "(Saying) 'may the road, enjoying, partake of the ghee' (he offers ghee) taken four times (at the house) of the messenger", which shows that *pālāgala* must have been some kind of a messenger. The Āp. Śr. S. 18.10.25 has this word in a slightly variant form, and adds one sūtra, which, it seems, is intended to explain the word *pālāgala* as some kind of messenger, *Adhvane svāhā iti pālākalasya gṛhe juhoti* "In der Wohnung des Pālākala bringt er eine Schmalzspende mit der Formel : "Für den weg, svāhā" dar." (Caland). To this Āpastamba adds, *anṛtaṁ dūtam bruvate* (18.10.26) "Man erklart den Pālākala als: "der Lugenbote"" (Caland).[5] Sāyaṇa on the Śat. Br. 5.3.1.11 explains this sūtra from the Āp. Śr. S. as recording the view of some teachers according to whom *pālāgala* (or *-kala*) meant a messenger speaking falsehood (*pālāgalam' anṛtavādinaṁ dūtam iti bruvate ācāryā ity arthaḥ*). Apparently, the remark found in BR on *pālāgala*, "nach Andern ein lugenrischer Bote" (also MW, "according to others 'a bearer of false tidings'") is based on the Āp Śr. Sūtra

The qualification 'speaking falsehood'[5] (*anṛtavādī*) given to *pālāgala* 'a messenger' by some teachers (*ācāryāḥ*) can obviously not be correct. No king is likely to keep such a messenger in his service, much less include him among his *ratnins*. This qualification only seems to be intended to set him off against another special messenger called *satyadūta* mentioned in another rite *satyadūta-havīṁṣi*.[6] The rite is so-called because messengers are sent to rival kings by the anointed king to announce the truth *viz.* "I have been anointed, I have become king". It is important to note that this *iṣṭi* occurs only in the description of the rājasūya in the Black Yajurveda, while *pālāgala* occurs in the list of the *ratnins* only in the White Yajurveda. It seems it is enough if we take the word to mean simply 'a messenger', without the qualification *anṛtavāī*.[7]

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[4] Also Sāyaṇa on the Śat Br. 5 3.1 11 *pālāgalo nāma dūtaḥ*. He also refers to the Kāty and the Āp. Śr. Sūtra.

[5] Caland observes in a footnote· "Oder " der Bote der die Luge, d h. die im Lande umhergehende Luge, dem Fursten zu melden hat ' ("). This is only a round about way of justifying the term *anṛtavādi*.

[6] *Cf* Heesterman, *op cit*, pp. 203-208.

[7] Heesterman's comment (pp. 207-208) does not seem to have any justification. He observes. " A few words may be added on account of the *anṛtadūta-*, Āp.'s interpretation of the *pālākala-* whom we met among the ratnins Whatever the politic reality represented by this designation may be, so much is clear, that in the ritual context the *anṛtadūta-* is the counterpart of the *satyadūta-*, Where the *satyadūta-* is connected with birth and renewal, we may see in the *anṛtadūta-* not a mere spy or agent-provocateur but the messenger of death and destruction, and connect him with the ritual phase of death which the king has to pass through in order to be reborn "

Mayrhofer (kurz. Ety. Wörterbuch) lists *pālāgala* as one of those words which have not been so far explained (nicht erklärt), He entertains the possibility of the basic form being **parā-gala* (or *-kala*) which may be derived from **parā-kṛta* 'despised' (verachtet), because *pālāgalī* was perhaps the daughter of a man from a lower caste. But Mayrhofer himself admits that this is a difficult derivation. He further mentions that Dumont, in a letter to him, hesitatingly suggests to derive *pālāgala* from *pala* + *ā-gala* 'man (of a lower caste) who eats flesh'. To me, Dumont appears to have started in the right direction. But I would rather take the basic form to be **parā-gara*, which in a l dialect would give **palā-gala*[8] 'one who eats in distant lands, or who eats at others'. This would be an apt description of a messenger who has to be often away from his home on duty.

With *pālāgala*, thus explained, one may compare the expression *palāśadūta* which occurs, in connection with the caityayajña, in the Āś. Gṛ. S 1. 12. 2. This compound expression has not been noted either by BR or by MW. The sūtra in question runs as *yady u vai videśastham palāśadūtena*. "If, however, (the Kaitya) is distant, (he should send his Bali) through a leaf-messenger"[9] (Oldenberg, SBE 29. 178-179). Oldenberg seems to understand by *palāśadūta*, not a real messenger, but one made out of a leaf. In footnote 2 he refers to the commentator Nārāyana · *palāśena dūtam vivadham ca kuryāt*. Haradatta observes similarly; *palāśavṛkṣena dūtam kārayitvā tena hārayet*.[10] Oldenberg then adds, "It is not clear whether besides this image of a messenger there was also a real messenger who had to carry the Bali to the Kaitya, or whether the rite was purely symbolical........" But the other sūtras in this section of the Āś. Gṛ. sútra dealing with the caityayajña clearly show that a real messenger was sent out with the *bali*. It is the wrong explanation of *palāśadūta* ' a messenger made out of a leaf' that led Oldenberg to entertain a doubt about the reality of the rite. But *palāśadūta* can be more satisfactorily explained in the light of what has been said above about *pālāgala* (< *para* + √*gar*–). The word *palāśa* also seems to go back to **parāśa* which is to be derived from *para* + √*aś* – 'one who eats in distant places, or in the house of others'. It is significant to note in this connection that the Āś. Gr. sūtra prescribes the sending of the *palāśadūta* if the caitya was *videśastha* 'situated in a distant or foreign land.'

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[8] *Pālāgala*, with lengthening in the first syllable, appears to be secondary.

[9] So also Stenzler: "Wenn er aber für ein in der Ferne befindliches Denkmal opfert, (so soll er die Gabe darbringen) durch einen Blatt-Boten "

[10] Devasvāmin does not explain the word.

SOME IMPORTANT VOCABLES FROM SANSKRIT COMMENTARIES ON JAINA CANONICAL TEXTS

By

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and

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The Sanskrit Commentaries on Jaina canonical texts in Prakrit, the voluminous texts on Jaina mythology like Ācārya Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacarita*, the Caritras or narratives of the lives of individual *Tīrthaṅkaras* composed by numerous Jaina poets, the vast *Kathānaka* literature in prose and verse, the *Prabandha*-works by mediaeval Jaina authors, works on Jaina Theology, Cosmology and allied subjects as also the commentaries by Jaina authors on Classical Sanskrit works display, as it were, a regional style of Sanskrit language presenting a number of cases of the usage of rare and obsolete words and such hybrid forms as back-formations, hyper-Sanskritisations and dialectical words, expressions and even syntactical peculiarities. Consequently at least some knowledge of the old and modern regional languages and the Prakrits is essential for grasping the proper sense of such compositions.

In their "Lexicographical Studies in 'Jaina Sanskrit'" (M. S. University Oriental Series, No. 5), the present writers have shown the lexicographical importance of such peculiar words and expressions occurring in three foremost specimens of the *Prabandha* literature *viz.* the *Prabandhacintāmani* of Merutuṅgasūri (1305 A.D.), the *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekharasūri (1349 A. D.) and the *Purātanaprabandhasangraha*—all published in the Singhī Jaina Series. The present paper proposes to bring out a similar study of some important vocables selected from Sanskrit Commentaries on Jaina Canonical texts—commentaries written between the 8th and the 18th centuries A.D. in Western India, mostly in the regions where Gujarātī and Rājasthānī are being spoken today.

It may be clarified at the outset that this list is in no way an exhaustive one. In fact, these words were taken down casually by Dr. B. J. Sāṇḍesarā, one of the writers, about 15 to 20 years back while going through these works for another purpose, when he was Professor of Gujarātī and Ardhamāgadhī at the B. J. Institute of Learning and Research, Gujarāta Vidyā Sabhā, Ahmedabad. Now a lexicographical study of the same is being presented to the world of scholars, who are requested also to consult the present writers' aforesaid book while going through these pages. As there, here also equivalents from old and modern Gujarātī and from other cognate languages have been noted wheresoever possible. Quotations from Old Guj. texts etc. also have been occasionally

given with a view to show how the same or almost the same vocable is used both in Guj. and Skt.

List of Works Consulted with their Abbreviations

AA: Anuttaropapātikadaśā-sūtra-vṛtti of Abhayadevasūri (11th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, V.S. 1976 = 1920 A.D.

AD: Anuyogadvāra-sūtra-vṛtti of Maladhārī Hemacandra (12th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1924 A.D.

ADC: Anuyogadvāra-sūtra-cūrṇi; publ. Ṛṣabhadevajī Keśarīmalajī Śvetāmbara Saṃsthā, Ratalām.

AHH: Maladhārī Hemacandra's (12th cent. A.D.) Ṭippaṇa on Haribhadra's (8th cent. A.D.) Vṛtti on the Āvaśyaka-sūtra; publ. D. L. Jaina Pustakoddhāra Fund, Bombay, 1920 A.D.

AM: Āvaśyaka-sūtra with the comm. of Ācārya Malayagiri (12th cent. A.D.), in three parts; publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1928-32 A.D.

AMH: Anuyogadvāra-sūtra-vṛtti by Maladhārī Hemacandra (12th cent. A.D.); edition same as A.D.

AS: Ācārāṅga-sūtra-vṛtti by Śīlāṅkadeva (c. 8th cent. A.D.), in two parts; publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, V.S. 1972-73 = 1916-1917 A.D.; reprinted by Jainānanda Pustakālaya, Surat.

AuA: Aupapātika-sūtra-vṛtti by Abhayadevasūri (11th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Mehsana, V.S. 1972 = 1916 A.D.

BKK: Bṛhatkalpa-sūtra-vṛtti by Kṣemakīrtti (V.S. 1332 = 1276 A.D.), edited by Muniśrī Caturavijayajī and Muniśrī Puṇyavijayajī, in six parts; Bhāvanagar, 1933 A D. ff.

BKM: Ācārya Malayagiri's (12th cent. A.D.) Pīṭhikā-vṛtti on Bṛhatkalpa-sūtra; edition same as *BKK*.

BS: Bhagavatī-sūtra, in three parts; publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Ahmedabad, V.S. 1982-85 = A.D. 1926-29.

BSA: Bhagavatī-sūtra-vṛtti by Abhayadevasūri (V.S. 1128 = 1072 A.D.); edition same as *BS*.

DVC: Daśavaikālika-cūrṇi of Jinadāsagaṇin Mahatttara (7th cent. A.D.); publ. Ṛṣabhadevajī Keśarīmalajī Śvetāmbara Saṃsthā, Ratalām, V.S. 1989 = 1933 A.D.

DVH: Daśavaikālika-sūtra-vṛtti by Haribhadra (8th cent. A.D.); publ. D. L. Jaina Pustakoddhāra Fund, V.S. 1974 = 1918 A.D.

JDA: Jñātādharmakathā-sūtra-vṛtti by Abhayadevasūri (V. S. 1120 = 1064 A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1919 A.D.

JKB: Jītakalpa-sūtra-bhāṣya; ed. by Muni Puṇyavijayajī, Ahmedabad, V.S. 1994 = 1938 A.D.

JKC: Jītakalpa-cūrni; ed. by Muni Jinavijayajī, Ahmedabad, V.S. 1983 = 1927 A.D.

JKCV: Jītakalpa-cūrṇi-visamapadavyākhyā by Śrīcandrasūri (V.S. 1227 = 1171 A.D.); edition same as *JKC*.

JKM: Jyotiṣkaraṇḍaka-vṛtti by Malayagiri (12th cent. A.D.); publ. Ṛṣabhadevajī Keśarīmalajī Śvetāmbara Samsthā, Ratalām, V.S. 1984 = 1928 A.D.

JM: Jīvābhigama-sūtra-vṛtti by Ācārya Malayagiri (12th Cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay.

JPS: Jambūdvīpa-prajñapti-vṛtti by Vācaka Śānticandra (V.S. 1650 = 1594 A.D.), publ D. L. Jaina Pustakoddhāra Fund, Bombay, V.S. 1976 = 1920 A.D.

KD: Kalpa-sūtra-dīpikā by Jayavijaya (V.S. 1677 = 1621 A.D.); ed. by Pt. Mafatalāla Jhaveracanda, publ. Mahopādhyāya Yaśovijaya Pustakālaya, Rādhanapur, V.S. 1991 = 1935 A.D.

KK. Kalpa-sūtra-kiraṇāvali by Upādhyāya Dharmasāgara (V.S 1628 = 1572 A.D.); ed. by Pt. Dānavijaya, Bhāvanagar, V.S. 1978 = 1922 A.D.

KKS: Kalpa-sūtra-Kaumudī by Upādhyāya Śāntisāgara (V.S. 1707 = 1651 A D.); publ. Ṛsabhadevajī Keśarīmalajī Śvetāmbara Saṃsthā, Ratalām, V.S. 1992 = 1936 A.D.

KS: Kalpa-sūtra-subodhikā by Vinayavijaya (V S. 1696 = 1640 A.D.); publ. D. L. Jaina Pustakoddhara Fund, Surat, V.S. 1967 = 1911 A.D.

KSV: Kalpa-sūtra-sandehaviṣauṣadhi by Jinaprabhasūri of Kharataragaccha (V.S. 1364 = 1308 A D.); ed by Pt. Hīrālāla Hamsarāja, Jāmanagar, V.S. 1969 = 1913 A.D.

NC: Niśītha-sūtra-cūrni, ed. by Ācārya Vijayapremasūri, in five parts, V.S. 1995-96 = 1939-40 A.D.; Typed copy.

NM: Nandi-sūtra-vrtti by Ācārya Malaygiri (12th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1924 A.D.

NS. Nirayāvalikā-sūtra-vṛtti by Śrīcandrasūri (V.S. 1128 = 1072 A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, V.S. 1978 = 1922 A D.

OND: Ogha-niryukti-vṛtti by Dronācārya (11th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Mehsana, V.S. 1975 = 1919 A.D.

PD: Prakīrnaka-daśakam; publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, V.S. 1983 = 1927 A.D.

PM: Prajñāpanā-sūtra-vṛtti by Malayagiri (12th cent. A.D.), in two volumes; publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Mehsana, V.S. 1974-75 = 1918-19 A.D.

PNM: Piṇḍa-niryukti-bhāṣya and commentary by Malaygiri (12th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, V.S. 1974 = 1918 A.D.

PVA: Praśnavyākaraṇa-sūtra-vṛtti by Abhayadevasūri (11th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Mehsana, V.S. 1975 = 1919 A.D.

PY: Pākṣika-sūtra-vṛtti by Yaśodevasūri (V.S. 1180 = 1124 A.D.); publ. D. L. Jaina Pustakoddhāra Fund, Bombay, V.S. 1967 = 1911 A.D.

RPM: Rājapraśnīya-sūtra-vṛtti by Malayagiri (12th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, V S. 1981 = 1925 A.D.

SA. Sthānāṅga-sūtra-vṛtti by Abhayadevasūri (V.S. 1120 = 1064 A D.), in two parts; publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, V.S. 1976 = 1920 A.D.

SKC: Sūtrakṛtāṅga-sūtra-cūrni by Jinadāsaganin Mahattara (7th cent. A.D.); publ. Ṛsabhadevajī Keśarīmalajī Śvetāmbara Saṃsthā, Ratalām, V.S. 1998 = 1942 A.D.

SKS: Sūtrakṛtāṅga-sūtra-vṛtti by Śīlāṅkadeva (c. 8th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Mehsana, V.S. 1973 = 1917 A.D.

SPD: Śrāddhapratikramana-sūtra-Vandāruvṛtti by Devendrasūri (13th cent. A.D.); publ. D. L. Jaina Pustakoddhāra Fund, Bombay, V.S. 1968 = 1912 A.D.

SPM: Sūryaprajñapti-vṛtti by Malayagiri (12th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, V.S. 1975 = 1919 A.D.

SPR: Śrāddhapratikramana-sūtra-vṛtti by Ratnaśekharasūri (V.S. 1446 = 1440 A D.); publ. D. L. Jaina Pustakoddhāra Fund, Bombay, V.S. 1968 = 1912 A.D.

SSA: Same as *SA*.

SVV: Same as *SPD*.

UC: Uttarādhyayana-sūtra-cūrni; publ. Ṛṣabhadevajī Keśarīmalajī Śvetāmbara Samsthā, Ratalām, V.S. 1998 = 1942 A.D.

UDA: Upāsakadaśā-sūtra-vṛtti by Abhayadevasūri (11th cent. A.D.), publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, Mehsana, V.S. 1976 = 1920 A.D.

UN: Uttarādhyayana-sūtra-vṛtti by Nemicandra (V.S. 1129 = 1073 A.D.); ed. by Vijaya-umaṅgasūri, V.S. 1993 = 1937 A.D.

US: Uttarādhyayana-sūtra-vṛtti by Śāntisūri (11th cent. A.D.), in three parts; publ. D. L. Jaina Pustakoddhāra Fund, V.S. 1972-73 = 1916-17 A.D.

VA: Vipāka-sūtra-vṛtti by Abhayadevasūri (11th cent. A.D.); publ. Āgamodaya Samiti, V.S. 1976 = 1920 A.D.

VAK: Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya-vṛtti by Koṭyācārya (c. 8th cent. A.D.); publ. Ṛṣabhadevajī Keśarīmalajī Śvetāmbara Saṃsthā, Ratalām.

VM: Vyavahāra-sūtra-vṛtti by Malayagiri (12th cent. A.D.); ed. by Muni Māṇeka, Ahmedabad.

Other Important Abbreviations

Adh.	Adhyayana.
adj.	adjective.
f.	feminine.
Guj.	Gujarāta, Gujarātī
ind.	indeclinable.
l(l).	line(s).
lit.	literal(ly).
m.	masculine.
Mar.	Marāṭhī.
mod.	modern.
n.	neuter.
N. Guj	North Gujarāta
p(p).	page(s).
Pkt.	Prakrit.
pl.	plural.
Śat.	Śataka.
sing.	singular.
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sruta.	Śrutaskandha.
Udd.	Uddeśaka.

अग्निष्टिका f. a grate, a fire-place.

तथा दक्षिणापथे कुडवार्धमात्रया समितया महाप्रमाणो मण्डकः क्रियते, स हेमन्तकालेऽरुणोदयवेलाया **अग्निष्टिकायां** पक्त्वा धूलीजङ्घाय दीयते, तं गृहीत्वा भुञ्जानस्य तृतीयो भङ्गः ।

—BKK., Vol. III, page 808. *cf.* Guj. अगीठी; *Vide* अङ्गारशकटिका.

अङ्कुटक m. a nail, a hook.

नागदन्ता—**अङ्कुटकाः**—

—JM., *Sūtra* 183 (*Pratipatti* 3), leaf 361. *cf.* Guj. आंकडो 'a nail', अकोडो 'a link'.

अङ्गारशकटिका f. a grate, a fire-place.

तस्मिंश्च शिशिरे हिमकणिनि मारुते च प्रवाति सति एके न सर्वे 'अनगारा'..... **अङ्गारशकटिकामन्वेषन्ति**...

—AS., page 281, lines 1-2. *cf.* Guj. शगडी. *Vide* अग्निष्टिका.

अञ्जणिका f. a collyrium-bottle.

'अंजणिमि'ति **अञ्जणिकां कज्जलाधारभूतां नलिकाम्**—

—SKS., *Śruta*. I, *Adh*. 4, leaf 117. *cf*. Guj. आंजणी 'a collyrium-casket.'

अट्टालक m. a garret.

अट्टालकाः—प्राकारस्योपरि भृत्याश्रयविशेषाः—

—JM., *Pratipatti* 3, *Sūtra* 142, leaf 258,

अट्टालकः—प्राकारस्योपर्याश्रयविशेषः—

Ibid., *Pratipatti* 7, *Sūtra* 147, leaf 279.

[The first reference indicates that it was customary in those days to give the garrets or apartments on the top of the rampart as residential quarters of the servants.] *cf*. Guj. अटारी.

अपसारिका f. the frontage, the first portion of a house next to the entrance-door. या वा '**अपसारिका**' पटालिका...

—BKK., Volume IV, p. 976. *cf*. Pkt. अवसारिगा (in *Bhāṣyagāthā* 3502), Deśī ओसरिया ; Guj. ओसरी; Hindī, Mar. ओसारी. *Vide* अवसरिका, पटालिका.

अबोट adj unpolluted, pure.

'भूटए तक्खे' त्ति स च प्रदेशो भूत्या 'लक्ष्यते' चिह्नयते **अबोटो**ऽयं प्रदेश इति कथ्यते।

—OND, *Gāthā* 234, leaf 92. *cf*. Deśī बोट्ट, Guj. बोटवु 'to pollute'; also Guj. अबोट.

अव+√लग् to attend upon

....इत्यनेन सह व्यवस्थां कृत्वा नागरिकधूर्तान**वलगामि**,....

—NM, p. 150, line 3. *cf*. Pkt. ओलग्ग; Guj. ओळगवु; Mar. ओळगणे. *Vide* अवलगक, ओलग्गा.

अवलगक m. a servant.

कुटुम्बिकाः—कतिपयकुटुम्बस्वामिनो**ऽवलगकाः**—

—RPM., *Sutra* 54, leaf 121. *cf*. Deśī ओलग्गा, Pkt. ओलग्ग, Old Guj. ओलग, Old Mar. ओलग, वोळग, वोलगवट, ढलिग, Modern Guj. ओळग, Kannaḍa ओलिग, Mar. ओळगणे. *Vide* अव+√लग्, ओलग्गा, also *vide* Sāndesarā, B. J., *Śabda ane Artha* (Guj.), p. 152 for details about the derivation etc. of this vocable.

अवसरिका f. *same as* अपसारिका.

गृहाणि सामान्यजनाना सामान्यानि वा, शरणानि तृणमया**वसरिका**दीनि —

—AD., p. 159. *cf* Deśī ओसारिया, Guj. ओसरी; Hindī, Mar. ओसारी. *Vide* पटालिका.

अवालु n. a gum.

इमं चेव य सरीरं......गलंतनयणकण्णोट्ठगंडतालुयं **अवालुयाखिल**चिक्कणं चिलिचिलियं... सभावओ परमदुग्गंधि कालिज्जयअंतपित्तजरहिययफेफसपिलिहोदरगुज्झकुणिमनवछिड्डथिविथिविथिवितहिययं......एस परमत्थओ सभावो (सूत्र १७)—

Sanskrit *Chāyā* of the above quotation:
इदमेव शरीरं......गलनयनकर्णौष्ठगण्डतालुकं अवालुखीलपिच्छलं व्यलीकं (चिकचिकाय-मानं)......स्वभावतः परमदुर्गन्धि कालेय्यकान्त्रपित्तज्वरहृदयफेफसप्लीहोदरगुह्यकुणिमन-वच्छिद्रदगद्गायमानहृदयं......, एष परमार्थतः स्वभावः ॥
—PD., 5 *Tandulavaicārikaprakīrṇakam*, pp. 46-47. *cf.* Deśī अवालुआ; Guj. अवालु.

अस्तर n. a layer.
विटङ्कः—कपोतपाली वरण्डिकाधोवर्ती **अस्तर**विशेषः—
—JDA., p. 14. *cf.* Skt. स्तर; Guj. अस्तर, थर; Mar. अस्तर.

आउली f. Name of a plant, *Tanner's Cassia, Cassia Auriculata, Leguminosae*. तडवडा-**आउली** तस्याः कुसुमं तडवडाकुसुमम्—
—RPM., *Sūtra* 15, leaf 32. The same wording is found also in JM., *Sūtra* 126, leaf 191 and JPS., leaf 34. *cf* Skt. आवर्तकी; Guj. આવળ. The *Sārtha Gujarātī Jodanikośa* (p 113 of 1949 ed.) derives the word આવળ from Skt. आमलक which is not correct.

आजओ m. a wild fragrant type of the holy basil Tulasī: *Ocimum Gratissimum*.
' आर्यकमञ्जरिकेव ' आर्यको वनस्पतिविशेषो यो लोके **आजओ** इति प्रसिद्धस्तस्य मञ्जरिका इव
—JPS., leaf 424 [The word आर्यक is probably a corrupted form of Skt. अर्जक, as states Śrī Bāpālāla G. Vaidya, a well-known Botanist and Principal, Occhavalāla Nāzara Āyurveda Mahāvidyālaya, Surat, in his letter dated the 22nd January, 1965.].

आमलसारक n. a flat fluted melon-shaped member usually at the summit of the spire of a temple.
' थासयावली इव 'त्ति स्थासकाः दर्पणाकृतय. स्फुरकादयु भवन्ति तेषामुपर्युपरिस्थिता-नामावली—पद्धतिः देवकुलामलसारकादिरिति भावः ।
—AA., *Sūtra* 3, leaf 5 [In Old Guj. also the word आमलसारक is fairly current. *Vide e g. Prācīna Gurjara Kāvyasangraha* (G. O. Series no. XIII), p. 4, *Revantagirirāsu* (c V.S. 1277 = 1221 A.D.), I. 10.

इकड f. name of a plant having red stalk, *Sesbania aegyptiaca*.
हरितानि—बीजेभ्यः सम्भूतानि **इकडा**दीनि भवन्ति ॥ ५५ ॥
—KKS., *Kṣana* 2, p. 232. *cf.* Skt. इत्कट ; Guj. ઇકડ.

उज्जानिका f. picnic.
उद्यानानि पत्रपुष्पफलच्छायोपगतवृक्षोपशोभितानि, बहुजनस्य विविधवेषस्योन्नतमानस्य भोजनार्थं यानं येष्विति व्युत्पत्त्या **उज्जानिका**स्थानानि ।
—KSV, p. 75. *cf.* Pkt. उज्जाणी, Guj. ઉજાણી.

उडद m. the kidney-bean, *Phaseolus radiatus.*

माषो-धान्यविशेष: **उडद** इति लोके रूढ:—
—NS., p. 23;
' कुल्माषा: ' **उडदा** राजमाषा वा—
—BKK., Vol. II, p. 504.
[The first reference hints at the fact that in the days of Śrīcandrasūri, *i e*, in the eleventh century A.D., this word was prevalent in the regional language of Gujarāta.] *cf.* Deśī उडिद, Hindī उड़द; Guj. अडद.

उण्ड adj. deep.

उव्विद्ध—**उण्डं**—
—RPM., *Sūtra* 1, leaf 2. *cf.* Deśī उंड, उंडग, उड्डय; Guj. ऊडु.

उण्डत्व n. depth.

उद्वेधेन-**उण्डत्वेन** अच्छोऽनाविलजलत्वात्—
—JPS., leaf 284.

उत्कुरुटक m. a dung-hill, a rubbish-hill.

क्षारस्य भस्मन **उत्कुरुटकस्य** कचवरपुञ्जकस्य उपलक्षणत्वाद् बुसादीना वा समीपे स्थित:—
—BKK., Vol. II, p. 561. *cf* Deśī उक्करड, उक्कुरुड, Guj. उकरडो. *Vide* उत्कुरुटिका.

उत्कुरुटिका f. *same as* उत्कुरुटक.

यथा हि गण्डक: कस्मिश्चित्कारणे आपन्ने **उत्कुरुटिकायामारुह्य** घोषयति ग्रामे—इदं प्रत्यूषसि कर्तव्यं—
—OND, *Gāthā* 644, leaf 202. *cf.* Deśī उक्करडी—डिया, उक्कुरुडी—डिया; Guj. उकरडी.

उल्ली f. mould, the excretion that gathers from dampness.

पनक **उल्ली**, स च प्राय: प्रावृषि भूम्याद्यादिषु जायते, यत्रोत्पद्यते तद्द्रव्यसमवर्णश्च नाम पनकत्यत्र नाम प्रसिद्धौ—
—KS., p 505,
पनक **उल्ली**, स च प्रायो वर्षाकाले भूमिकाष्ठभाण्डादिषु जायते, यत्र चोत्पद्यते तद्द्रव्यसमानवर्ण: प्रज्ञप्त:—
—KKS., *Ksana* 9, p 226.
पनक:—**उल्ली**: स च प्राय: प्रावृषि भूकाष्ठादिषु जायते, यत्रोत्पद्यते तद्द्रव्यसमवर्णश्च—
—KD, *Paryuṣaṇā-sāmācārī*, p. 16. *cf* Pkt. उल्लिअ 'moistened'; Guj. ऊल 'the dry or arid saliva on the tongue'. [It will be interesting to note that Skt. आर्द्र > Pkt. अल्ल and उल्ल; Guj. आलुं 'moistened' is derived from the former while the latter gives Guj ऊल.].

ओलंबणदीव m. the hanging lamp carried by the bride-groom's mother in the wedding-procession.

' **ओलंबणदीवे** 'त्ति शृङ्खलाबद्धप्रदीपान्—
—BSA., *Śat.* 11, *Udd.* 11. This is a derivative of Skt. अवलम्बमानदीपक: > Pkt. अवलम्बमाणदीवउ > Guj. ऑलमणदीवो, लामणदीवो, रामणदीवो. *cf.* Mar. लामणदीवा.

ककिण्डि f. a female chameleon.

हल्लोहलिआ आहिलोडी सरडी ककिण्डीत्येकार्था—

—KD., *Paryuṣaṇā-samācārī*, p. 17. *cf.* Deśī ककिंड; Guj. कांचंडी. *Vide* काकिण्डी.

क[का]ङ्कटुक adj. hard (grain), that cannot become tender even though well-boiled.

ते **कङ्कटुकमुद्गाः** सकारणवशतस्तथारूपा एव जाता ये स्थालीन्धनकालादिसामग्रीसम्पर्केऽपि न पाकमश्नुवते इति—

—NM., p. 224, lines 24-25,

स्थालीन्धनकालादिसामग्रीसम्भवेऽपि न **काङ्कटुकमुद्गानां** पक्तिरुपलभ्यते—

—*Ibid.*, p. 214, line 22 ;

कचित्तु कुरुटुकत्वमिति दृश्यते तत्र कुरुटुकाः—**काङ्कटुकबीजप्रायाः** अयोग्या, सद्गुणानामिति—

—PVA., I. 3. leaf 43. *cf.* Guj. गांगडु.

कङ्कतिक m. a comb.

तत्र फणिहः **कङ्कतिकस्तं** मस्तकादौ व्यापारयन्ति—

—AD., p. 24, line 8. *cf.* Hindi कंघा.

कचवर m. rubbish, sweepings.

आरम्य भस्मन उत्कुरटकस्य **कचवरपुञ्जस्य** उत्क्षिप्य वाद् तुणादीनां वा समीपे स्थितः—

—BBK., Vol. II, p. 561;

दर्शनमेवामारमिथ्यात्वादिकचवरत्वना विशुद्धस्था यस्य तत्तथा—

—NM., p 43, l 4 and p 57, l. 22. Also *vide* AS , p. 10, ll. 12, 15 and p. 50, ll. 2, 15. *cf* Desi कचवर, कचवार; Guj. कचरा, कचरो, Hindi कचरा.

कचेरी f. a court, an office.

बाहिरियं उवट्ठाणसालं—बाह्यं उपस्थानशाला 'कचेरी' इति लोके—

—KS., p 166. *cf.* कचेरी, कचहरी and such allied forms in several modern Indian languages.

कटपल्या f. the dried stalks of juwar and millet used as a forage for cattle.

कडपल्लाणं गण्णा, तणभाराणं च वेमितो वल्था । —'देशीतः'—देशीभाषामाश्रित्य **कटपल्यानां** तृणपल्यानां च वल्थानीति संज्ञा ।—

—BKK., Vol. IV, *Bhāṣyagāthā* 3298, p. 926. *cf.* Guj कडब f.

कटपल्ली f. a big vessel for storing grains.

ते च दरा द्विविधाः तद्यथा—पोट्टदरा धान्यभाजनदराश्च । तत्र पोट्टम् -उदरं तद्रूपा दराः पोट्टदराः, धान्यभाजनानि—कटपल्ल्यादयस्तान्येव दरा धान्यभाजनदराः ।

—BKK., Vol. III, p. 815 *cf.* Guj. कोठी, कठोडी, कठोरी (in the dialect of N. Guj.) 'a room in the house for storing grains and other articles'.

कटरि ind. an exclamatory or laudatory particle

अहो महती धृष्टतावृत्तिः **कटरि** कठिनः कुण्ठजनहृठग्रहः —

—JPS., leaf 2.

The word is prevalent in Apabhraṁśa and Old Guj exactly in this sense; *vide e.g.*

अण्णु जु तुच्छउं तहे धणहे
तं अक्खणह न जाइ ।
कटरि थणंतरु मुद्धडहे
जे मणु विच्चि न माइ ॥

—*Siddhahemaśabdānuśāsana*, VIII. iv. 350.

Also *cf. Vastupālacarita* of Jinaharṣagaṇin (V.S. 1497=1441 A.D.):

द्रम्मेणापि तदा पुष्पं तत्र मन्त्रिमहोत्सवे ।
नैव प्रापि जनैः क्वापि **कटरे** मन्त्रिवैभवम् ॥ VII. 89.

The vocables कटरि-कटरे may be derived from Skt. कृत > Pkt. कट + exclamatory रे-रि. This is supported by a *v l.* found in Hemacandra *viz.* कडरि which is quite in affinity with कड, the alternative Pkt. form of Skt. कृत. *Vide* Dr. Sāṇḍesarā's note on कटरि-कटरे in *Buddhiprakāśa* (Guj.), September 1960, pp 312-313.

कटोरक m. a cup, a bowl.

यो मामपूर्वं श्रावयति तस्मै लक्षमूल्यमिदं **कटोरकं** ददामीति—

—SA., *Adh.* 4, *Udd.* 2, leaf 260. *cf.* Deśī कट्टोरग, Guj. कटोरो

कडुच्छुक m. a large spoon, a laddle.

तथा 'मानकं' गृहस्थसत्कं **कडुच्छुकादि**— उदकार्द्रादि —

—OND., *Gāthā* 516, leaf 177. *cf.* Deśī कडच्छु; Guj कडछो.

कणिक्का f. [1] dough.

ततो गृहमागता सती तथाविधोत्सवनवशाद् वृश्चिकं **कणिक्कामयं** भक्षणाय हस्ते न्यस्तवती

—NM., p. 149, l. 13. *cf.* Skt. कणिक, कणीक, Pkt. कणिका, Guj कणिक, कणक; Hindī कनेक; Mar. कणीक.

[2] broken grains of rice, any small grain.

चाउनी लोकप्रसिद्धा यया **कणिक्कादि** चाल्यते—

—NM., p. 57, ll. 2-3. *cf.* Skt. कणिका; Pkt. कणिय, कणिया, Guj. कणकी; Hindī कणिका.

कण्टासेलिआ m. Name of a plant, *Barleria prionitis*.

कोरण्टकः पुष्पजातिविशेषः स च **कण्टासेलिआख्यः** सम्भाव्यते—

—JPS., leaf 34. *cf.* Guj. कांटासळियो, कांटासरियो, कांटाअशेळियो, कांटाअसाळियो.

कण्ठिका f. a necklace.

ग्रैवेयकानि—**कण्ठिकाख्यग्रीवाभरणानि**—

—KD., p. 54. *cf.* Guj. कंठी. *Vide* कण्ठी.

कण्ठी f. *same as* कण्ठिका.

कण्ठमणिसुत्तएण य—कण्ठस्थितमणिसूत्रकेण, कण्ठीतिप्रसिद्धेनालङ्कृताम्—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* II, p. 53. *cf.* Guj. कंठी.

कत्तलिका f. a thin slice.

तत्र यत् चिर्भटादिकं विदार्य ऊर्द्धफालिरूपाः पेस्यः कृतं तद् ऋजुकभिन्नं, यत् पुनस्तिर्यग्वृहत्यः कत्तलिकाः कृतं तत् चक्कलिकाभिन्नम्—

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 332. *cf.* Pkt. कत्तरिअ; Guj. कातळी, कातरी; Konkaṇī कातळी; Mar. कातळा.

कम्बिका f. a small bamboo stick.

राजा प्रबोधमुपजगाम, शब्दितवांश्च रोहकं, स च निद्राभरघुम्माणो न प्रतिवाचं दत्तवान्, ततो राजा लीलाकम्बिकया मनाक् तं स्पृष्टवान्, ततः सोऽपगतनिद्रो जातः—

—NM., p. 148, ll. 25-26;

चतुर्थेन वृश्चिकेन (जातः), यन्मामपि बालकं निद्राभरसुप्तं लीलाकम्बिकाग्रेण वृश्चिक इव निर्दयं तुदसि—

—*Ibid.*, p. 149, ll. 5-6. *cf.* Guj. कांब(-बी), कंबा; Mar. काब

कर्करिका f. a small pebble; sand.

शर्कराः—कर्करिकाः—

—*JPS*, leaf 374. *cf.* Guj. कांकरी

कलाय m. a field pea, *Pisum sativum*, known in Guj. as वटाणा.

KK., p. 74.

काकिण्डी f. *same as* कक्किण्ड.

हल्लोहलिआ अहिलोडी सरटी 'काकिण्डी' इति लोके—

—KS., p. 567. *cf.* Deśī कक्किंट, Guj. काकींडी.

काको m. an uncle.

[समणस्स णं भगवओ महावीरस्स पित्तिज्जे सुपासे ....]—श्रमणस्य भगवतो महावीरस्य (पित्तिज्जे सुपासे) पितृव्यः 'काको' इति सुपार्श्वः—

—KS., p. 269. *cf.* Persian काका 'an elder brother, father's brother, an old servant', whence Guj. काको and Hindī चाचा 'an uncle.'

काञ्जिक n. gruel.

उत्कृष्टमेतद्द्रव्यं—काञ्जिकं सुरभि क्षेत्रतोऽरण्ये कुतोऽस्य सम्भवः?—

—OND., leaf 160. *cf.* Guj., Mar. कांजी f.; Hindī काँजी f.

कारकु[कू]न m. a clerk.

पापायां मध्यमायां हस्तिपालस्य राज्ञः रज्जुका लेखकाः 'कारकुन' इति लोके प्रसिद्धास्तेषां शाला सभा जीर्णा...

—KS., leaf 310;

रज्जुका—लेखका लोके कारकूनाः—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* VI, p. 126. *cf.* Persian कार्कुन 'a doer, a worker' whence कारकुन 'a clerk' in several modern Indian languages.

कारवेल्ल n. a squirting cucumber.

मरिचादिषु कटुको रसः कारवेल्लादिषु तिक्तः—

—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* II, leaf 174. *cf.* Deśī कारेल्लय; Guj. कारेलुं. *Vide* कारेल्लक.

कारेल्लक n. *same as* कारवेल्ल.

'कारेल्लाछल्ली' ति **कारेल्लकं** वल्लीविशेषफलम्—

—AA., leaf 6. *cf.* Deśī कारेल्लय, Guj. कारेलु.

कालिङ्ग n. a water-melon, *Citrullus vulgaris.*

यस्तु वृन्ताक**कालिङ्ग**मूलकानां च भक्षकः ।
अन्तकाले स मूढात्मा न स्मरिष्यति मां प्रिये: ॥ १ ॥

—SPR., p. 118. *cf.* Guj. काळंगडुं, कालिंगडुं. *Vide* कालिङ्गीफल.

कालिङ्गीफल n. *same as* कालिङ्ग.

गवादीनामग्निपक्व**कालिङ्गीफल**स्वेदादिना शृङ्गाणि वक्राणि ऋजूनि ऋजूनि वक्राणि करोति ।

—SPR., p. 71. *cf.* Guj. कालिंगडीनु फळ.

कावडि f. a bamboo lath provided with slings at each end for carrying pitchers etc. on one's shoulders.

'कावपिच्छाइ वे'ति **कावाः—कावडिवाहकास्तेषां** प्रेक्षा, मागधप्रेक्षा वा—

—JM., *Pratipatti* III, *Sūtra* 147, leaf 281. [*cf.* Deśī काव, कावड, कावडि, कावोडि; Guj. कावड, कावडी; Hindī काँवर.

कुञ्चिक m. a key-holder.

सगो महाभयं जं विहेडिओ सावएण संतेणं ।
पुत्तेण हिए अत्थंमि मणिवई **कुंचिएण** जहा ॥ १३३ ॥ ४०८ ॥

Sanskrit *Chāyā*—

सङ्गो महाभयं यद्वाधितः श्रावकेण गता ।
पुत्रेण हृतेऽर्थे मुनिपतिः **कुञ्चिकेन** यथा ॥ १३३ ॥

—PD. IV : *Bhaktaparijñā-prakīrnaka* p. 28 *cf.* Guj. कूंची and Hindī कुंजी 'a key'. *Vide* कुञ्चिका [1].

कुञ्चिका f. [1] a key.

घेप्पइ अकुंचियागंमि कवाडे...*Sūtra* 356. 'अकुञ्चिकाके' **कुञ्चिकारहिते कुञ्चिका-विवररहिते** इत्यर्थः, तत्र हि किल पृष्ठभागे उल्लालको न भवति तेन न घर्षणद्वारेण सत्त्वविराधना, यद्वा—'अकूइयागे'त्ति पाठः, तत्र 'अकूजिकाके' कूजिकारहिते अकेङ्कारावे, किमुक्तं भवति ?—यदुद्घाट्यमानं कपाटं कंकाररवं न करोति ।

—PNM., *Udbhinnadoṣa*, XII, in *Udgamaiṣaṇā*, p. 107;

पेटा उद्देशकाः स्युः षडिह गहतामुद्रिता अर्धरत्नैः।
पूर्णास्तत्राऽऽद्य पेटा प्रकटनविधये कुञ्चिकैषाऽस्तु टीका॥
—BKK., Vol. III, last verse of the commentary on the first *Uddeśaka*, p. 921. *cf.* Pkt. कुंचिया, कोंचिगा; Guj. कूंची, Hindī कुंजी. *Vide* कुञ्चिक

[2] a painter's brush
'चित्रकारे 'त्ति चित्रकारः, स च रूपकभूमिकामांसल्वाऽऽदे रूपकप्रमाणं जानाति तावन्मात्रं वा वर्णं **कुञ्चिकायां** गृह्णाति यावन्मात्रेण प्रयोजनमिति॥
—NM., p. 165, ll. 9-10. *cf.* Guj. कूची, कूचडी.

कुथुम्भरी f. the coriander plant, *Coriandrum sativum.*
"धाणगा" **कुथुम्भरी**—
—NC., part II, p. 236. *cf.* Skt. कुस्तुम्बरी, Pkt. कुत्थुंभरी; Guj. कोथमरी, कोथमी, कोथमीर. *Vide* कुस्तुम्ब[म्भ]री.

कुलत्थ n. a kind of black seeds used as food.
धन्नेणं—धान्येन चतुर्विंशतिभेदेन, तद्यथा-
धन्नाइं चउवीसं।
जव १ गोहुम २ सालि ३ वीहि ४ सट्ठीअ ५॥
कुद्दव ६ अणुआ ७ कंगु ८।
रालय ९ तिल १० मुग्ग ११ मासा य १२॥
अयसि १३ हरिमंथ १४ तिउडा १५।
निप्फाव १६ सिलिंद १७ रायमासा य १८॥
उच्छू १९ मसूर २० तुवरी २१।
कुलत्थ २२ तह धन्नय २३ कलाया २४॥२॥
—KS., p. 215. *cf.* Guj. कळथी f.; Hindī कलथी; Mar. कुळीथ. *Vide* कुलत्था.

कुलत्था f. *same as* कुलत्थ.
कुलत्था—धान्यविशेष:—
—NS., p. 23; also AS., p. 51, l. 27. *cf.* Guj. कळथी f.; Hindī कलथी; Mar. कुळीथ.

कुलातरा f. an insect.
उत्कलिका लूता 'कुलातरा' इति लोके—
—KS., p. 567.

कुलुडिका f. a small earthen water-pot.
तथा घटिका मृन्मयकुलुडिका—
—SKS., *Śrutaskandha 1, Adh.* IV, *Udd.* 2, leaf 118. *cf.* Deśī कुलुड; Guj. कुलडी.

कुसण n. an utensil, a vessel.

अन्यदा च तेनाविरतिकेन दिवा भुञ्जानेन महिला भणिता—मन्निमित्तमद्य कुसणं स्थापयेः, पश्चाच्च मम रात्रौ भुञ्जानस्य 'दद्याः' परिवेषयेः। ततस्तया स्थापितम्। तच्च शुनकेन भक्षितम्। रात्रौ च सा भणिता—परिवेषय मम तत्कुसणम्। तया भणितम्—शुनकेन भक्षितम्।

—BKK., Vol. III, p. 804. *cf.* Guj. वासण-कूसण.

कुस्तुम्ब[म्भ]री f. *same as* कुथुम्भरी.

'कोत्थुंभरि'त्ति **कुस्तुम्भर्यो**—धान्यकणाः—

—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 3, leaves 243-44;

पूर्वं च **कुस्तुंबरी**शब्देन धान्यभेदः सगृहीतः, इदानीं तत्पत्राणां भक्ष्यत्वेन पत्रशाखेषु संग्रह इति न पौनरुक्त्यम्—

—*Ibid.*, leaf 244. *cf.* Pkt. कुत्थुंभरी; Guj. कोथमरी, कोथमी, कोथमीर.

कूट *m.*, n. a stone contrivance for killing.

कूटस्येव पाषाणमयमहामारणयन्त्रस्येव—

—NS., p. 8. *cf.* Pkt. कूड.

√कूर्द् to jump, to leap.

यथा 'गौः' बलीवर्दो महता भारेण लङ्घितो हलं वा वहमानः प्रनोदेनातितोदितः सन् **कूर्दयित्वा** भारं पातयति हलं वा भनक्ति—

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 391. *cf.* Guj. कूदवुं. *Vide* कूर्दन

कूर्दन n. jumping, leaping.

वल्गनं **कूर्दनम्**—

—JDA., p. 232. *cf.* Guj. कूद. *Vide* √कूर्द्.

कोट्ट m. a fortress.

म्लेच्छकोट्टं वा गताः परतीर्थिकवेषेण दिवा पुद्गलादिकं गृह्णन्ति।

—BKK., Vol. III, p. 819;

तथा **कोट्टं** नाम-यदटव्या चतुर्वर्णजनपदमिश्रं भिल्लदुर्गं वसति—

—*Ibid*, p. 825. *cf.* Deśī कोट्ट; Guj., Hindi, Mar. कोट.

कोट्टक n. a place in jungle where the wild tribes used to collect and dry fruits etc. for sale in cities.

जनः लोकः प्रचुरफलायामटव्यां गत्वा फलानि यावत्पर्याप्तं गृहीत्वा यत्र गत्वा शोषयति, पश्चात् गन्त्रीपोट्टलकादिभिरानीय नगरादौ विक्रीणाति तत् **कोट्टक**मुच्यते। ततश्चारण्ये **कोट्टकादौ** प्रदेशे यत्र जनः फलानि शोषणार्थं 'पुञ्जयति' पुञ्जीकरोति तत्र—

—BKK., p. 279 and

'**कोट्टगं** णाम जत्थ भिल्ला लोगो वा अडवीए पउरफलाए गंतुं फलाणि पुंजेति "—

—a quotation from the *Cūrṇi* on the same page. *cf.* Pkt. कोट्टग 'a store-house'; Guj. कोठो; also *cf.* कोठी (factory) of the East India

Company at Surat which was not only their office but also a warehouse. Later on कोठी came to be used as an administrative office or administrative building or just the residence of a dignitary. It will be interesting to note in this connection that several years back the administrative building of the Municipality at Ahmedabad was known as कोठो.

कोप्पटिका f. an upper thin film or crust.
पृथिवी नाम केदाराद्युपरिवर्त्तिनी **शुष्ककोप्पटिका** श्लक्ष्णखटिकानिर्मिता वा—
—BKK , p. 305. *cf.* Guj. कोपटी, कपोटी prevalent in the same sense in the dialects of Saurāṣṭra and north Gujarāta.

कोल्हुक n. a machine for extracting juice from sugar-cane.
[जंते रसो गुलो वा, तेल्लं चक्कम्मि तेसु वा जं तू]—यन्त्रमपि सागारिकस्यान्यैः सह साधारणं स्यात्। तच्च द्विधा— **इक्षुयन्त्रं तिलयन्त्रं** च। **तत्रेक्षुयन्त्रे कोल्हुकाख्ये** रसो गुडो वा भवेत्। **तिलयन्त्रं** तु **चक्रमुच्यते**, तत्र तैलं तिलातसीसर्षपादीनां भवेत्।
—BKK., *Bhāṣyagāthā* 3648, Vol IV, p. 1013. *cf.* Pkt. कोल्हुअ, Guj. कोलु.

क्रियाणक n. grocery.
नानाविधं **क्रियाणकं** सर्वं छर्दयित्वा परित्यज्य—
—VM., part IV, sub-part 1, p. 51. *cf* Skt. क्रयाण; Pkt. किरिआण; Guj. करियाणु, Hindi केराना; Mar. किराणा.

क्षात्र n. a hole dug in the wall of a house with a view to enter the same for committing theft.
क्षात्रखानका ये सन्धानवर्जितभित्तीः खाणयन्ति।
—JDA., p. 239;
(**खत्तखणणादीहिं** णगरं उवद्दवंति)—
Sanskrit *Chāyā*:
क्षात्रखननादिना नगरमुपद्रवन्ति—
—VM., part III, p. 77. *cf.* Guj. खातर.

क्षेपिणी f. a contrivance (sling?) for throwing lead-balls.
(**खेवणि**)—**क्षिप्यन्ते सीसकगुटिका** आभिरिति **क्षेपिण्यो**—हथनालिरिति लोके प्रसिद्धाः खङ्गाः—
—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 3, leaf 206. *Vide* हथनालि.

खट्वामल्ल m a bed-ridden person ; lit.: ' an athlete of the cot '.
, **खट्वामल्लो** ' नाम प्रबलजराजर्जरितदेहतया यः खट्वाया उत्थातुं न शक्नोति—
—BKK., Vol. III p. 737. *cf.* Guj., Hindi, Mar. खटमल 'a bed-bug'.

खडक्किका f. a side-door ; a small door.
यदा रथ्यायामपि गन्तुं न शक्नोति तदा ' साहीए ' **खडक्किकायां** गत्वा व्युत्सृजति, यदा

खडक्किकायां गन्तुं न समर्थस्तदा ' पुरोहडे ' अग्रद्वारे व्युत्सृजेत्—
—OND., (*Gāthā* 622), leaf 198. *cf.* Pkt. खडक्की; Guj. खडकी; Hindī खिडकी ' a window '. *Vide* खडिक्का.

खडिक्का f. *same as* खडक्किका.
खडिक्काया बहिः प्रक्षिप्य दास्याऽभिहितोऽसौ—
—*AHH.*, p. 49.

खरण्टित adj. besmeared.
लाक्षारसखरण्टितं सरटं घटे प्रक्षिप्य तस्मिन् घटे पुरीषोत्सर्गं कारितवान्—
—NM., p. 152, line 9. *cf.* Guj. खरडायेल.

खल(क) n. a barn-yard, a thrashing floor.
खलं—धान्यमेलनादिस्थंडिलम्—
– KSV., p. 104;
खलं—धान्यमलपवनादिस्थण्डिलम्—
—KK., p. 112,
[खित्त वा, घरे वा, अगणे वा.....]—क्षेत्र धान्यनिष्पत्तिस्थानं तत्र वा, (**खले** वा) **खलं** धान्यतुषपृथक्करणस्थानं तत्र वा, (घरे वा) गृहे वा, (अंगणे) अङ्गणं गृहाग्रभागस्तत्र वा..
—KS., p. 325;
यतोऽसौ ' मेढि ' त्ति मेढी—**खलक**मध्यवर्त्तिनी स्थूणा यस्यां नियमिता गोपङ्क्तिर्धान्यं गाहयति तद्वयमालम्ब्य सकलमगममण्डलं करणीयार्थान् धान्यमिव विवेचयति स मेढी—
—BS., *Śat.* 18, *Udd.* 2. *cf.* Guj खळु.

खादिका f. a ditch.
" उस्सूलग " त्ति **खादिका**—
—UN., *Adh.* 9, leaf 148. *cf.* Pkt. खाइ; Guj. खाई.

खाल m., f. a drain, a gutter.
[गामनिद्धमणेसु वा]—ग्रामजलनिर्गमाः, **खाला** इति प्रसिद्धाः—
—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 4, p. 84;
' खायनिद्धमणाइति ' **खालं** गृहात् सलिलं येन निर्गच्छति ।—
—KSV., p. 134;
ग्रामनिर्द्धमनानि ग्रामजलनिर्गमाः, **खाल**मिति प्रसिद्धाः ।—
—*Ibid.*, p. 75;
ग्रामनिर्द्धमनानि—ग्रामजलनिर्गमरूपाणि **खाल**मिति प्रसिद्धानि—
—KD., p. 62;
निद्धमणं **खालं**—
—*Ibid.*, *Paryuṣaṇā-samācārī*, p. 1;
निद्धमणं **खालं** येन गृहाज्जलं निर्गच्छति—
—KK., p. 175;
ग्रामनिर्द्धमनानि—ग्रामजलनिर्गमाः **खाल**मिति प्रसिद्धाः । —
—KK., p. 73;

ग्रामसम्बन्धीनि निर्धमनानि जलनिर्गमाः ' खाल ' इति प्रसिद्धास्तेषु—
—**KS.**, p. 213. *cf.* Deśī खाल; Guj. खाळ f.

खुंखुणक n. a small tinkling ball, a cymbal.
अदु अजणि अलंकारं, कुक्कुययं मे पयच्छाहि ॥ ७ ॥
—' कुक्कुययं 'त्ति **खुंखुणकं** ' मे ' मम प्रयच्छ—
—SKS., *Adh.* 4, *Udd.* 2, *Sūtra* 7, leaf 117. *cf.* Guj. खणखणियु.

खुट्टिका f. a bar.
ततो द्यूतकारा रक्तपटवेषेण सुवर्ण**खुट्टिका** गृहीत्वा भिक्षुसकाशं गता वदन्ति च,......
एताः सुवर्ण**खोटिका** युष्मत्पार्श्वे स्थास्यन्ति—
—NM, p. 157, ll. 10-11, 12-14. *cf.* Mar. सुवर्णखोटी ' a gold-bar '. *Vide* खोटिका.

खुम्पक m. a head-ornament or crest made of flowers.
सूई—तालपत्रसूच्यादि **खुम्पकः** । कुडसीसगं पलासपत्रमयं **खुम्पकम्** ।
—JKCV., p. 50, lines 5-6. [The vocable is fairly common in Old Guj; *vide e.g. Prācīna Phāgu-Saṅgraha*, 1. 10:

चंपयकेतकिजाइकुसुम
सिरि **खुंप** भरेइ,
अतिआछउ मुकमाळ चीर
पहिरणि पहिरेइ.

Also *Vasantavilāsa* (c. V.S 1400 = 1344 A.D.), verse 53·
खूंप भरी सिरि केतकि
सेत किया सिणगार ।
मिलीय ते मंडन मारीग
नारीय स्यु भरतार ॥]
cf mod. Guj. खूप.

√खेट् to till, to cultivate.
ततः **खेटय खेटय** मन्दं मैत्रेयानिति......पुरुषोऽपि नागारडन्ती दृष्ट्वा मन्दचेता मन्दं
मन्दं **खेटयामास** ।—
—NM., p. 154, ll. 10-12. *cf.* Guj. खेडवुं.

खेटन n. tillage, cultivation.
तत्र निहितमात्राणां—उप्तमात्राणां न तु लौकिकप्रसिद्धभूमि**खेटन**प्रभृतिकर्मसापेक्षाणां......
शाल्यादीनां निष्पादकम्—
—JPS, *Vakṣaskāra* 3, leaf 243. *cf.* Guj. खेडाण.

खोटिका f. *same as* खुट्टिका.
ततो द्यूतकारा रक्तपटवेषेण सुवर्ण**खुट्टिका** गृहीत्वा भिक्षुसकाशं गता वदन्ति च,......
एताः सुवर्ण**खोटिका** युष्मत्पार्श्वे स्थास्यन्ति—
—NM., p. 157, ll. 10-11, 12-14. *cf.* Mar. सुवर्णखोटी ' a gold-bar '.

खोल n. dregs (of wine).

' खोलं ' मद्याधःकर्दमः—

—**AS.**, *Sūtra* 269, p. 318, l. 8. *cf.* Desī खोल; Guj. खोळ m. 'oilcake', lit.: 'dregs of oil'.

खोला f. gilding, plating.

कंचण-**कोसी** पविट्ठ दंताणं कंचणमणिरयणभूसिआण......गयाणं अट्ठसयं......—

काञ्चनकोशी-सुवर्णखोला तस्यां प्रविष्टाः अर्थाद् विषाणाख्या येषां ते तथा तेषां

—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 2-3, leaf 265. *cf.* Guj. खोळ f.

गड्ड m. a boil.

' अरतिः ' वातादिजनितचित्तोद्वेगः ' गंडं ' **गड्डः**—

—UN., leaf 163. *cf.* Guj. गडं, गड, गांड.

गड्डरिका f. [1] a ewe.

गड्डरिकायूथप्रवाहप्रवृत्तं गतानुगतिकन्यायानुसारिणं शङ्कया वा अपधावन्तं ब्रूयात्—

—AS., p 203, *ll.* 18-19. *cf.* Desī गड्डरिगा, गड्डरिया; Guj. गाडर, गाडरी.

[2] a disease in vegetables which creates holes in the leaves.

तथा अच्छिद्राणि पत्राणि येषां ते अच्छिद्रपत्राः, किमुक्तं भवति ? — न तेषां पत्रेषु वातदोषतः कालदोषतो वा **गड्डरिका**दिरीतिरूपजातो येन तेषु पत्रेषु छिद्राण्यभविष्यन्नित्य-च्छिद्रपत्राः—

—RPM., *Sūtra* 3, leaf 6 ;

' अणईइपत्ता ' न विद्यते ईतिः— **गड्डरिका**दिरूपा येषां तान्यतीतानि पत्राणि येषां ते अतीतपत्राः—

—*Ibid.*, leaf 6 ;

न तेषां पत्रेषु वातदोषतः कालदोषतो वा **गड्डरिका**दिरीतिरूपजायते—

—JPS., leaf 29,

' अणीइपत्ता ' इति न विद्यते ईतिः— **गड्डरिका**दिरूपा येषु तान्यनीतीनि—

—*Ibid*, leaf 29.

गड्डी f. a cart, a carriage.

अहवा सिबिगादिगं जाणं भण्णति, अणुरंगा **गड्डी**—

—NC., *Bhāṣyagāthā* 3002, part III, p. 606. *cf.* Guj., Hindī, Mar. गाडी.

गण्डपाणिका f. a small reed basket, which can easily be held in hand.

' **गंडवाणियाए** ' त्ति ' **गण्डपाणिका** ' वंशमयभाजनविशेष एव यो गण्डेन हस्तेन गृह्यते, **डल्लातो** लघुतरः—

—**BSA.**, *Śat.* 7, *Udd.* 7. *Vide* डल्ला.

गण्डिका f. a (peeled) piece (of sugar-cane).

' उच्छुमेरगं ' त्ति अपनीतत्वगिक्षु**गण्डिका**—

—AS., *Sūtra* II. 1.8.270, p. 318, line 13. *cf.* Deśī गंडीरी; Guj., Mar. गडेरी.

गुड[ल]पर्प्पटिका f. a kind of sweet-meat or pastry made of molasses, wheat-flour and clarified butter; a treacle-cake.

भक्ष्याणि—खण्डखाद्यादीनि गुललावणिका—**गुडपर्पटिका** लोकप्रसिद्धा गुडधाना वा—
—SSA., *Adh.* 3, leaf 118;
भक्ष्याणि—खण्डखाद्यानि गुडलावणिका लोकप्रसिद्धा **गुडपर्प्पटिका** गुडधाना वा—
—SPM., leaf 293;
' गुल्लावणिय 'त्ति **गुलपर्प्पटिका** लोकप्रसिद्धा गुडधाना वा—
—PVA, 2.5, leaf 163. *cf.* Guj. गोळपापडी. *Vide* पर्पटि.

गुन्द n. gum.

वृक्षस्थं **गुन्दादि** राजादनादि वा सास्थिकं फलं मुखे प्रक्षिपतः सचित्तप्रतिबद्धाहारः ॥२॥
—SPD., p. 72. *cf.* Guj. ગુંદ, ગુંદર, Hindi गोंद.

गृहकोकिला f. a type of insect.

हलिका **गृहकोकिला** ब्राह्मणी वा—
—KD., *Paryuṣanā-samācārī* p. 17. *Vide* ब्राह्मणी, हलिका. *cf.* Guj. घरकूकडी.

गोखलक m. a niche.

एगो कप्पंते उरपालगो। सो **गोखलएण** कंनाओ पलोएंतीओ न वारेइ। ततो ताओ अग्गदारेण निप्पिडिउमाढत्ता। .....अक्षरगमनिका — निर्यूहो गवाक्षः। **गोखलक** इत्यर्थः। आदिशब्दात्तदन्यतथाविधप्रदेशपरिग्रहः। तेन निर्य्यूहादिना प्रलोकने अवारणं, न वारणं कृतवान्।
—VM., part III, p. 63. *cf.* Guj. गोखलो गोख.

गोफणा f. a sling.

यन्त्रप्रस्तराश्च—**गोफणा**दिपाषाणाः—
—PVA., 1.3, leaf 43;
गोफणा—चर्मदवरकमयी प्रसिद्धा, तया धनुःपर्यन्तनिर्मितया लेट्टुकमुपलं वा यत् प्रक्षिपति एषोऽभिघात उच्यते ॥
—BKK., Vol. V, p. 1314. *cf.* Guj. गोफण f.; Hindi गोफन.

गोल्हाफल n. a kind of vegetable, *Cephalandra indica.*

बिम्बफलं—**गोल्हाफलम्**—
—JM., *Pratipatti* 3, *Sūtra* 147, leaf 272;
बिम्बफलं—**पक्वगोल्हाफलं**, तयोः सन्निभो रक्ततयोन्नतमध्यतया अधरोष्ठः—
—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 2, leaf 112., *cf.* Deśī गोल्हा; Guj. घोलुं.

घट्टशाला f. a wretched dwelling place without windows.

यदि वाऽनगारा इति—पार्श्वनाथतीर्थप्रव्रजिता गच्छवासिन एव शीतार्दिता निवातमेषन्ति—**घट्टशालादिका** वसतीर्वातायनादिरहिताः प्रार्थयन्ति।

—As., p. 281, ll. 3-4 ;
तत्र रुन्दा नाम—विस्तीर्णा **घङ्घशालादि**रित्यर्थः तस्यां 'पुष्पावकीर्णाः' पुष्पप्रकरवदव-कीर्णाः—अनियतक्रमा अयथाथ्यथं स्वपन्ति येन सागारिकाणामवकाशो न भवति।
—BKK., Vol. IV, p. 1186 ;
शाला च सा 'महती' विस्तीर्णा **घङ्घशाले**त्यर्थः—
—*Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 1317. *cf.* Deśī घंघसाला ; Guj. घंघोलियु.

घाण m. an oil-mill.
'**घाणे**'—तिलपीडनयंत्रे—
—PNM., *Pındanikṣepa*, *Vātakūya*, p. 17. *cf.* Deśī घाण; Guj. घाणी.

घुर्घुरक m. a cutting instrument.
ग्रन्थि—द्रव्यसम्बन्धिनं भिन्दन्ति—**घुर्घुरक**द्विकर्त्तिकादिना विदारयन्तीति ग्रन्थिभेदास्तान्—
—UA., IX.28, leaf 312;
ग्रन्थिभेदाः ये **घुर्घुरक**द्विकर्त्तिकादिना ग्रन्थिं भिन्दन्ति।
—UN., IX. 28, leaf 149.

घृतेल्लिका f. a kind of red-coloured insect.
उण्होल त्ति—**घृतेल्लिकाः** अतितीक्ष्णतुण्डाः—
—KD., p. 94. *cf.* Pkt. घयमिल्लिया ; Guj. घीमेल.

घोलित adj. mingled.
मषी—तदेव कज्जलं ताम्रभाजनादिषु सामग्रीविशेषेण **घोलितं**, मसीगुलिका—**घोलित**-कज्जलगुटिका—
—RPM., *Sūtra* 15, leaf 32. *cf.* Guj. घोळेल.

चक्कल m. [1] a circular or square seat made of leather or cotton or knitted grass.
'मसूरकं' नाम चर्मकृतं वस्त्रकृतं वा वृत्तं वूयादिपूर्णं **चक्कल**-गाद्दिकादि।
—BKK., Vol. IV, p. 1055. *cf.* Deśī चक्कल; Guj. चाकळो.
[2] a toy-sparrow for decoration.
तद्यथा—तपनीयमयाः **चक्कला** रजतमयाः सिंहास्तैरुपशोभितम्—
—RPM., *Sūtra* 15, leaf 37. *cf.* Guj. चकलो-चकली.

चक्कलिका f. a type of circular eatable prepared out of gram-flour fried in oil or clarified butter.
तत्र यत् चिर्भटादिक विदार्य ऊर्द्धफालिरूपाः पेश्यः कृतं तद् ऋजुकभिन्नं, यत् पुनस्तिर्यग्-बृहत्यः कत्तलिकाः कृतं तत् **चक्कलिकाभिन्नम्**—
— BKK., Vol. II, p. 332. *cf.* Mar. चकली.

चचुइआरक n. a hole in the block of wood on which a door turns.
अथ द्वारस्य पिधानं कुर्वन्ति तथापि चतुर्लघवः। 'यन्त्रे' **चचुइआरका**ख्ये सञ्चारिमाना-मुद्देहिकादीनां त्रसप्राणिनां घातो भवतीति तन्निष्पन्नं प्रायश्चित्तम्।—

—BKK., Vol. IV, p. 940. [This appears to be an onomatopoetic word denoting the sound चुचुइ produced when a door turns on its hinges.]

चटन-विचटन n. coming up and going down.

स्कन्दन्ति—शुष्यन्ति धीयन्ते च—पोष्यन्ते च पुद्गलानां **विचटनेन चटनेन** चेति स्कन्धाः
—US., *Adh.* 36, p. 673. *cf.* Guj. चढवुं-ऊतरवु.

चटिका f. a hen-sparrow.

सम्प्रति परिपूर्णदृष्टान्तो भाव्यते—परिपूर्णको नाम घृतक्षीरगालनक गृगृहाभिध**चटिका**-कुलाल्यो वा, तेन ह्याभीर्यो घृतं गालयन्ति—
—NM., p. 57, ll. 21-22. *cf.* Old Guj. चिडु 'a cock-sparrow', *vide*
'मधुकर **चिडु** नंइ तुल मांजार, नर नामि न दिउं पइसार'
—line 660 of *Uṣāharaṇa* of Vīrasiṃha (15th cent. A.D.); also mod. Guj. चिडी; Hindī **चीडिया.**

चट्टक m. a large wooden spoon.

चुल्लुक्खलिया डोएदव्वी छूटे य मीसगं पूई।
डाए लोणे हिंगू संकामण फोडणे धूमे॥ २५०॥
—'चुल्ली' प्रतीता, 'उरवा'-स्थाली,
'डोयः'-बृहद्दारुहस्तकः महाँश्चट्टक इत्यर्थः,
'दर्वी'-लघीयान् दारुहस्तकः
'डायं'-शाकं लवणं हिङ्गु च प्रतीतं
'धूमः' हिङ्ग्वादिसत्को वघारः......
.... तथा 'डोए' इति देशे समुदायशब्दोपचारान् डोय इत्युक्ते डोयस्याग्रभागो गृह्यते।...
—PNM., p. 84. *cf.* Deśī चट्टअ; Guj. चाटवो.
In Old Guj. The word is prevalent in the forms चाटवउ and चाटुउ; *vide e g.*:
मरण तणइ भयि भोजन वार
वांस **चाटवउ** [*v.l.* चाटुउ, चाटूया, चाट्टउ, चाटू] धरइ सूआर।
पहिलु राउ हूं अवगण्यउ, माहरउ बंधव केसव हण्यउ॥ २५॥
—*Kānhaḍadeprabandha* of Padmanābha (1456 A.D.), verse 25.

चप्पडक m. a wooden clasp.

चप्पडकानां—काष्ठयन्त्रविशेषाणां सन्धिषु—जानुकूर्परादिषु बन्धनं **चर्पटकसन्धिबन्धनम्**
—PVA., (1.3), leaf 57. *cf.* Guj. चापडो; Mar. चपडा.

चप्पुटिका f. a snap of the fingers accompanying an enchantment or charm.

विटलानि पजुंजंति—विटलानि खिटिका **चप्पुटिकादीनि** प्रयुञ्जते—
—VM., *Udd.* 7, *Bhāṣyagāthā* 233, p. 41. *cf.* Guj. चपटी.

चवल m. a kind of pulse, *Vigna catiang*.
चणक-चवलादिकं द्विदलं—
—BKK., Vol. II. p. 504; KK., p. 74. *cf.* Guj. चोळा.

चहिय adj. loved.
'चहिय' त्ति विगलद्बहलानन्दाश्रुदृष्टिभिः सहर्षं निरीक्षिताः —
—AD., *Sūtra* 42, leaf 37b, the text of the *Sūtra* being तेलोकचहिय-महिय-पूइएहि, leaf 37a. *cf.* Pkt. √चाह; Guj. √चाह 'to love', चाह्युं—चाहेलुं 'loved'.

चाकचिक्य n lustre, brightness.
स च मुद्गशैलः पूर्वं धूलीधूसरशरीरत्वात् मन्दं मन्दमकाशिष्ट, सम्प्रति तु तस्यापि धूलेरपनयनादधिकतरमवभासमानो वर्तते, ततः स चाकचिक्यमादधानो हसन्निव नादरपुष्करावर्त्तौ समताच्छन्तावेवमभाषिष्ट—
—NM., p. 55, ll. 24-26. *cf.* Guj. चाकचक्य.

चारि[री] f. green grass, food.
शरदि हि प्रचुरचारिप्राणतया मक्षिकाद्युपद्रवरहिततया च गोयूथो मदोद्रेकादुच्छृङ्खलः पर्यटतीति—
—BKK., Vol. II, p. 400;
मुखमले यदि वसतिः तदा 'चारी' भोजनसम्पत्तिः प्रशस्ता।
—*Ibid.*, p. 442. *cf.* Guj. चार f., चारो; Hindī चारा.

चिर्भट n. a musk-melon.
'वालुंकल्ली'—वालुंकं चिर्भटम्—
—ADA., *Sūtra* 3, leaf 6. *cf.* Skt. चिर्भटि; Pkt. चिब्भड, Guj. चीभडुं. *Vide* चिर्भटिका.

चिर्भटिका f. *same as* चिर्भट.
सर्वाऽपि तव चिर्भटिका भक्षयामि—
—NM., p. 149, lines 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. *cf.* Guj. चीभडी.

चिल्ली f. name of a green vegetable, *Chinopodium speciosum*.
हरितानि तन्दुलीयक...चिल्लीपालक्यादीनि—
—AS., p. 51, lines 26-27. *cf.* Guj., Mar. चील.

चीडा m. a type of herb with fragrant bulbous roots.
कुन्दुरुष्कं चीडाभिधानो गन्धद्रव्यविशेषः—
—KD, p 38. [According to Śrī Bāpālāla G. Vaidya, a well-known Botanist and Principal, Occhavalāla Nāzara Āyurveda Mahāvidyālaya, Surat, this is a type of herb belonging to the genus *Musta* in Indian Pharmacopoeia, known in Guj. as चीडानी मोथ.]

चीन adj. short (nose), lit.: 'like a Chinese'.

'**चीणच्चिपिडनासियं**' ति **चीना**-ह्रस्वा चिपिटा च—निम्ना नासिका यस्य तत्तथा—
—JDA., p. 137.

चीनचोल n. a China cloth, China silk.

जिनस्य मस्तके श्वेतच्छत्रमिव मुखे चन्द्रकिरणपूरमिव कण्ठे हारमिव सर्वशरीरे **चीनचोल**मिव स्नात्रजलं शुशुभे—
—KKS., *Kṣana* 5, p. 100.

चुल्लगकर m. 'a tax on hearth', *i.e.* a tax levied on a family-unit having its own separate cooking arrangement.

चुल्लगो—भोजनं तदेव करः **चुल्लगकरः** स चायं ग्रामे पञ्चकुलादीनधिकृत्य प्रसिद्ध एव—
—AM., p. 596.

चुल्ली f. a small fire-place or hearth.

चुल्ल्यां पाकार्थमारोपितम्—
—VM., *Udd.* 6, p. 9;

पूर्वं **चुल्ल्या**मारोपिते समीहिते वा—
—*Ibid.*, p. 9;

खण्डनी पेषणी **चुल्ली** जलकुम्भः प्रमार्जनी।
पञ्च शूना गृहस्थस्य बध्यते यास्तु वाहयन् ॥ १ ॥
—SPR., p. 122;

किञ्च—स भिक्षुर्यत्पुनरेवंभूतं स्थण्डिलं जानीयात्, तद्यथा‥'मानुषरन्धनानि **चुल्ल्या**दीनि तथा महिष्यादीनुद्दिश्य यत्र किञ्चित् क्रियन्ते ते वा यत्र स्थाप्यन्ते तत्र लोकविरुद्धप्रवचनोपघातादिभयान्नोच्चारादि कुर्यादिति—
—AS., p. 378, ll. 21-22;

सङ्ग्रहस्तु स्पष्ट एव, केचित्तु **यच्चुल्ल्या**मारोपितं तत्पूर्वायुक्तं, अन्ये तु यत्समीहितं तत्पूर्वायुक्तं—
—KK., p. 189. *cf.* Guj. चूल, चुल्लिका, चूलि.

चुल्हक m. a fire place, a hearth.

अपिहितस्य प्रदीप**चुल्हका**देर्धारणं **चुल्हको**परि चन्द्रोदयाप्रदानाद्यपि प्रमादाचरणम्।
—SPR., p. 133. *cf.* Guj. चूलो; Hindi चुल्हा.

चोल्क m. a gram, a chick-pea.

KK, p. 74. *cf.* Guj. चणो.

चोप्पड adj. greasy.

'निस्तुप्पा' **अचोप्पडा** अवग्घारिता वा ॥
—BKK., Vol. II, p. 504. [This word is of Dravidian origin.] *cf.* PKt. चोप्पड 'to smear with'; Guj. चोपडुं; Hindi चुपडा.

च्छटक m. sprinkling, drizzling; a drop.

'आवर्षणम्' उदकेन च्छटकप्रदानम्—

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 495. *cf.* Deśī छंट ; Guj. छांट, छांटो , Hindī छींटा.

छगण n. cow-dung.

'उपलेपनं' छगणमृत्तिकया भूमिकाया लेपनम्—

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 495. *cf.* Guj. छाण.

छ[च्छ]टित adj. husked, separated from the husks.

बलवत्या च्छटितानां निःशेषतुषापनयनात् तन्दुलानां 'आढकम्'—

—BBK., Vol. II, p. 375;

'अच्छतिच्छडियतंदुलनहसंदट्ठपडिपुन्ना इव चिट्ठति'—'अच्छा' निर्मलाः शुद्धाः स्फटिकवत् त्रिच्छटिताः—त्रीन् वारान् छटिताः अत एव 'नखसन्दष्टाः' नखाः नखिकाः सन्दष्टा मुशलादिभिः छटिता येषां ते तथा मुखादिदर्शनात् क्तान्तस्य परनिपातः अच्छैस्त्रिच्छटितैः शालितण्डुलैर्नखसन्दष्टैः परिपूर्णा—

—RPM., (*Sūtra* 28), leaf 70;

त्रिच्छटिताः—त्रीन् वारान् छटिताः—निस्तुषिताः

—JPS., (*Vakṣaskāra 1*), leaf 57. *cf.* Deśī छडिय ; Guj. छडेल.

√छर्द् to abandon, to leave off.

नानाविधं क्रियाणकं सर्वं छर्दयित्वा परित्यज्य —

—VM., part IV, subpart i, p. 51. *cf.* Pkt. छड्ड, छड; Guj. छांडवुं; Hindī छाडना.

छल्ली f. bark.

खन्धः-थुडं त्वक्-छल्ली—

—RPM., (*Sūtra* 3), leaf 5;

चम्पकछल्ली—सुवर्णचम्पकत्वक्—

—JPS., leaf 34. *cf.* Guj. छाल f.; Hindī छिल्का.

छार f. ? ashes.

द्रव्यस्थापना तृणडगलछारमल्लकादीनां परिभोगः—

—KS., p. 528. *cf.* Pkt., Guj. छार m., f.; Hindī खार.

छिण्डिका f. a narrow path, an alley.

तत्रापि 'देशे' द्वारकुक्ष्यादिलक्षणे प्रदेशे च तत्र तत्रानेकाश्छिण्डिका भवन्ति। ...... यथा नगरस्य देशेषु प्रदेशेषु च छिण्डिका भवन्ति तथाऽनुयोगस्यापि चतुर्णां द्वाराणामवान्तरभेदाः।

—BKM., p. 78. *cf.* Deśī छेंडी, छिंडिआ; छींडी; Guj. छींडी.

छिप m. a cloth-printer.

नन्तिकाः छिपास्तच्छालासमीपे वा—

—VM., *Udd.* 10, p. 66. *cf.* Deśī छिंपय ; Guj. छीपो. *Vide* छिम्पक.

छिम्पक m. *same as* छिप.
तद्यथा—अन्तकुलाणि-वरुट**छिम्पका**दीनां प्रान्तकुलानि—
—SA., (*Adh.* 8), leaf 420;
जुगुप्सितं-**छिम्पकादि** तच्च, हिंसागं-सौकरिकादिग्रहं तच्च मामाकं चोक्तं—
—OND. (*Gāthā* 437), leaf 156;
'प्रतिकुष्टं' **छिम्पका**दिगृहं सूतकोपेतं गृहं वा—
—*Ibid.* (*Gāthā* 440), leaf 157;
'जुगुप्सितेषु' **छिम्पका**दिषु यदि पिण्डग्रहण करोति ततो दुर्लभा बोधि करोतीति—
—*Ibid.* (*Gāthā* 441), leaf 157. *cf.* Deśī छिपय; Guj. छीपो.

छिल्लरक n. a pool.
राजतुरङ्गमेन कुत्रचित खिलप्रदेशे प्रश्रवणमकारि, तच्च तत्प्रदेशं पृथिव्याः स्थिरत्वेन बद्ध-**च्छिल्लरकं** चिरेणाप्यशुष्कं व्यावर्तमानो राजा तथैव व्यवस्थितमद्राक्षीत—
—AMH., leaf 50, lines 3-4. *cf.* Deśī, Guj. छिल्लर. *Vide* a Gujarātī apophthegm:
'हंसा सरवर ना तजो,
जो जळ खारो होय;
छिल्लर छिल्लर हीडता,
भला न कहेशे कोय.'

छिवाडि f. a bean.
'**छिवाडि**'त्ति मुद्गादेः फलिं, तामेव विशिनष्टि—
—AS., p. 293, ll. 24-25, p. 294, l. 3. *Vide* फलि.

छुट्ट adj. freed.
नष्टः पिशाचो न क्वापि दृष्ट इति **मुक्ताः** स्म **च्छुट्टा** वयं शेषस्य तद्गवेषणाद्यायासस्य—
—VM, part IV, sub-part II, p. 57. *cf* Pkt. छुट्ट, Guj. छूटुं; Hindī छूटा.

√छुप् to touch.
फासेमोत्ति स्पृशामः आसेवनाद्वारेण **छुपामः**, ...स्पृशद्भिरासेवनाद्वारेण **च्छुपद्भिः**—
—PY., p 60. *cf.* Old and mod. Guj. √छब exactly in this sense.

जम्पान n. a type of litter
शिबिका-पुरुषसहस्रवाहनीयः कूटाकारशिखराच्छादितो **जम्पान**विशेषः—
—PVA., *Adh.* 2, leaf 13;
युग्यं—गोल्लदेशप्रसिद्धो द्विहस्तप्रमाणो वेदिकोपशोभितो **जम्पान**विशेष एव—
—*Ibid*, leaf 13;
युग्यानि—गोल्लविषयप्रसिद्धानि द्विहस्तप्रमाणानि वेदिकोपशोभितानि **जम्पानानि**, शिबिकाः—कूटाकारेणाच्छादिताः **जम्पान**विशेषाः—
—RPM. (*Sūtra* 3), leaf 7;
'जुग्गं'त्ति गोल्लविषयप्रसिद्धं **जम्पानं** द्विहस्तप्रमाणं वेदिकोपशोभितम—

—BSA., Vol. II, *Śat.* 3, *Udd.* 4, p. 88;
' सीअ 'त्ति शिबिकाकूटाकाराच्छादितो **जम्पानविशेषः**—
—*Ibid.*, p. 88;
' संदमाणिअ'त्ति पुरुषप्रमाणोऽऽयामो **जम्पानविशेषः**—
—*Ibid.*, p. 88. *cf.* Pkt. झंपण; Guj., Hindī झंपान.

जल्ल m. a rope-dancer, an acrobat.
(नडनट्टगजल्ल......)—नाटककारकाः नर्त्तका ये स्वयं नृत्यन्ति **जल्ला-दोरखेलकाः**
—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 5, p. 102. *Vide* दोरखेलक, वरत्राखेलक.

जासूद n. the China rose.
(जासुअकुसुमरासि) – जपापुष्पस्य **'जासूद'** इति लोकप्रसिद्धस्य यो राशिः समूहः
—KS., p. 170. *cf.* Pkt. जासुमण; Guj. जासूद, जासु; Mar. जासुंद.

जीन n. a saddle.
नवतानि-**जीनानि**—
—JDA., p. 232. *cf.* Persian *jīn*; Pkt. जीण; Guj., Hindī, Mar. जीन.
Vide थिल्लि, पल्यान.

जुवार m. ? a kind of grain, *Sorghum vulgare.*
युगंधरी-**जुवार** ।—
—KK., p. 74. *cf.* Deśī जुआरि, जोवारि; Guj. जुवार, जार; Hindī ज्वार, ज्वारी.

जेमनवार m. a feast, a group-dinner.
' संखडिं ' च जनसङ्कुल**जेमनवार**लक्षणं—
—KD., leaf 11. *cf.* Guj. जमणवार.

जोटन n. joining.
' अंजलियग्गहेण '—हस्त**जोटनेन**—
—RPM., leaf 128. *cf.* Pkt. verb जोड; Guj. जोडाण; Hindī verb जोड़ना;
Mar. verb जोडणे.

झगडुक m. a quarrel, a dispute.
" हस्ते नरकपालं ते, मदिरामांसभक्षिणि ।
भानुः पृच्छति मातङ्गि!, किं तोयं दक्षिणे करे? ॥ १ ॥"
चाण्डाली प्राह—
" मित्रद्रोही कृतघ्नश्च, स्तेयी विश्वासघातकः ।
कदाचिच्चलितो मार्गे, तेनेयं क्षिप्यते छटा ॥ २ ॥
कूटसाक्षी मृषावादी, पक्षपाती **झगडुके** ।
कदाचिच्चलितो मार्गे, तेनेय क्षिप्यते छटा ॥ ३ ॥"
—SPR., p. 61. *cf.* Deśī ज(-झ-)गड; Guj. झघडो; Hindī झगड़ा; Mar. झगडा.

झल्लरि[री] f. a cymbal.

'**झल्लरि**'त्ति वलयाऽऽकारो वाद्यविशेषः—
—BSA., Vol. II, (*Śat.* 5, *Udd.* 4), p. 171;
ढक्का **झल्लरी** प्रतीता—
—KS., p. 252;
ज्योतिष्कदेवानां **झल्लरीसंस्थानसंस्थितः** [अवधिः], **झल्लरी**—चर्मावनद्धविस्तीर्णवलयाकारा आतोद्यविशेषरूपा देशविशेषप्रसिद्धा—
—NM., p. 88, l. 10;
तत्प्राकारादीनां च व्याख्यानमिदं भाष्यकृदाह......चम्मावणद्धविच्छिन्नवलयरूवा य **झल्लरिया**—
—NM., p. 89, line 1. *cf.* Guj. झल्लरी, झाल्लरी, झालर; Hindi, Mar. झालर.

झुम्बनक n. a kind of dangling ornament.

प्रालम्बो—**झुम्बनकम्**—
—VA. (*Śruta.* 1, *Adh.* 6), leaf 70; AuA. (*Sūtra* 26), leaf 55;
प्रालम्बं—**झुम्बनकम्**—
—JPS., (*Vakṣaskāra* 2), leaf 106;
BSA., *Śat.* 9, *Udd.* 33;
तथा प्रलम्बो—**झुम्बनकं** लम्बमानो येषां ते तथा—
—RPM (*Sūtra* 54), leaf 122. *cf.* Guj झूमणुं.

झोलिका f. a type of litter.

'गिल्लि'त्ति पुरुषद्वयोत्क्षिप्ता **झोलिका**—
—SKS, *Śruta.* 2, *Adh.* 2, leaf 330 *cf.* Deśī झोलिया; Guj., Mar. झोळी; Hindī झोली. *Vide* डोलिका

टक्क[का]रा f. a stroke of fingers on the head, especially on a bald head.

एगो खल्लाडो तंबोलवाणियउ पण्णे विकिणइ, सो एक्केण चारभडपोट्टेण पन्ने मग्गितो—**अरे** खलाडवाणिया पंन्ने देहि। तेण सकसाएण न दिन्ना। अन्ने भणंति थोवा **दिन्ना**। ततो तेण रुसिएण चारभडपोट्टेण खल्लाडे सिरे **खडुगा** दिन्ना, **टक्करा** दिन्नेति वुत्तं भवति—
—VM., part II, p. 52;
एकेन चारभटपोतेन तांबुलिकस्य शिरसि **खल्वाटे खडुका टकारा** दत्ता, ततस्तेन **वणिजा** सत्कार्य तस्मै वस्त्रयुगलं दत्तं, द्वितीयेन खल्वाटेन व्यपरोपितो मारितः—
—Ibid., p. 52. *cf.* Guj. टकोरी, टकोरो. [In medieval Guj. टाकर, which is related to टक्कर, also meant 'a bald person'; *cf.* 'टेढी पाघ **टाकरने** ठाम'—*Chappā* of Akho (17th Cent. A.D.).]

टङ्कणक्षार m. acid borax, soda biborate.

टङ्कणक्षारमानूक्षारादेर्बाष्पबहुजीवविनाशनिमित्तत्वाच्च महानेव दोषः।
—SPR., p. 122. *cf.* Guj. टंकणखार.

टप्पर adj. deformed (ears).

'आलीणपमाणजुत्तसुवणा' आलीनौ न तु टप्परौ प्रमाणयुक्तौ श्रवणौ-कर्णौ येषां ते आलीनप्रमाणयुक्तश्रवणाः—

—JM., *Pratipatti* 3, *Sūtra* 147, leaf 272;

आलीनौ-मस्तकभिनौ किञ्चिल्लग्नौ न तु टप्परौ प्रमाणयुक्तौ—सप्रमाणोपेतौ श्रवणौ—

—JPS., (*Vakṣaskāra* 2), leaf 113. *cf.* Old Guj. टापरा. *Vide Varṇaka-samuccaya*, part I (Prācīna Gurjara Granthamālā, no. 4), p. 134, l. 7: 'पग छापरो, कान टापरो', also p. 159. l. 23: 'छापरा पग, टापरा कान'.

टिन्दुरक n. Name of a vegetable, *Cocceinia Indica.*

आभ्यन्तरपुटादिसहितबीजमयं दाडिमटिन्दुरकादि तन्नाभक्ष्यतया व्यवहरन्ति १५—

—SPR., p. 118. *cf.* Guj. टींडोरु.

टोकर m. a piece, a strip.

तस्य चापवरकस्य द्वारं बहिः कुदण्डेन वंशटोकरादिना बध्यते, न येन निर्गत्यापगच्छति

—VM., part IV, sub-part i, p. 31. *cf.* Guj. टुकडो; Hindī टुकड़ा; Kannaḍa तुकडि; Mar. टुकडा, तुकडा.

ठार m. dew.

अवश्यायः—आकाशात् पतति, ठार इत्यर्थः १—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 9, p. 227. *cf.* Guj. ठार.

ठिक्करिका f. a chip or fragment of an earthen pot.

ठिक्करिकाराशीनिव सुवर्णदीनारगुरुराशीन ॥ ६० ॥......पश्यन्नुत्पश्यत या विसिष्मयामासिवानेष: ॥ ६७ ॥

—SPR., pp. 47-48. *cf.* Deśī ठिक्करिआ; Guj. ठीकरी, ठींकरी. *Vide* ठिक्करी, ठीकरी.

ठिक्करी f. *same as* ठिक्करिका.

गौतमश्चिन्तयति......कीलिकाहेतोः प्रासादपातनं सूत्रार्थं हारत्रोटनं ठिक्करीकृते कामकुम्भभञ्जनं भस्मार्थं चन्दनदहनं कोऽपि मूर्खो वाञ्छति—

—KKS. *Kṣaṇa* 6, p. 143. *cf.* Deśī ठिक्करिआ: Guj. ठीकरी, ठींकरी. *Vide* ठीकरी.

ठीकरी f. *same as* ठिक्करी.

कः काम[च ?]कलशं शस्यं स्फोटयेत् ठीकरीकृते ॥ ४७ ॥

—KD., p. 104; KK., p. 117. *cf.* Guj. ठीकरी, ठींकरी. *Vide* ठिक्करिका.

डगल n. a thick large piece.

द्रव्यस्थापना तृणडगलक्षारमल्लकादीनां परिभोगः —

—KSV., p. 136;

द्रव्यस्थापना—तृणडगलछारमल्लकादीनां परिभोगः सचित्तादीनां च परिहारः।—

—KD., *Paryuṣaṇā-samācārī* p. 5;

लहुसाऽदिण्णं पुण सुहुमं जत्थ जत्थ पणगाविती। तं जहा—तण-डगल-छार-मल्लग-लेव-

इत्तिरि-उग्गहण-चिट्ठणासु लेव इत्तिरि-उग्गहणठाणेसु सुत्ताएसेण मासलहुं। तहावि इह लहुसगा-दिण्णं चेव भण्णइ।—

—JKC., *Gāthā* 9, p. 9, line 8;

तथा तृणडगलभस्ममल्लकपीठफलकशय्यासंस्तारकलेपादिवस्तूनि चारित्रेप्सुः सोपधिकः शिष्यश्च शय्यातरस्यापि ग्रहीतुं कल्पते, इति तृतीयः॥ (३)—

—KS., p. 4;

तृण-डगल-भस्म-मल्लक-पीठ-फलक-शय्या-संस्तारक-लेपादिवस्तूनां ग्रहणे सोपधिकशिष्यप्रव्राजने चाऽऽज्ञया कल्प्यत्वाच्छय्यातरो न भवति।

—KK., p. 2. *cf.* Deśī डगल; Guj. डगळु.

डङ्गर m. a cudgel-holder.

लाकुटिकाः—डङ्गराः—

—BKK., Vol. IV, p. 1157. *cf* Deśī डंगा and Guj. डंगोरो 'a cudgel'.

डल्ला f. a large basket.

'गोकिलंजएण'त्ति गोचरणार्थं महावंशमयभाजनविशेषेण, डल्लयेत्यर्थः—

—BSA., *Śat.* 7, *Udd.* 7. *cf.* Skt. डल्लक; Deśī दल्ल; Guj. डाली f., डालुं n., डालो m *Vide* गण्डपाणिका.

डाल f., n. a branch.

जिणवयणमणुगयमई जं.........।

अग्गीव वाउसहिओ समूलडाल डहइ कम्मं ॥९९॥ ॥ २३२ ॥

Sanskrit *Chāyā*—

जिनवचनानुगतमतिर्या.................।

अग्निरिव वायुसहितः समूलशाखं दहति कर्म्म (वृक्षम्) ॥ ९९ ॥

—PD., 3 *Mahāpratyākhyāna-prakīrṇakam*, p. 17;

जिणवयणमणुगयमई.......................।

अग्गी व वायसहिओ समूलडालं डहइ कम्मं ॥ २९० ॥ ॥ १५२५ ॥

Sanskrit *Chāyā*--

जिनवचनानुगतमतिः.....................।

वातसहितः अग्निरिव समूलडालं कर्म्मं दहति ॥ २९० ॥

—*Ibid.*, 10 *Maraṇavibhakti-prakīrṇakam*, p. 115. *cf.* Deśī डाल, डाली; Guj. डाळ, डाळी, Hindī डगाली.

डिक्करिका f. a daughter.

अपि च स भिक्षुः क्षुल्लिकां 'दारिकां' डिक्करिकां मण्डितालङ्कृतां 'णिवुज्झमाणि'त्ति अश्वादिना नीयमानां, तथैकं पुरुषं वधाय नीयमानं प्रेक्ष्याहमत्र किञ्चिच्छ्रोष्यामीति श्रवणार्थं तत्र न गच्छेदिति॥

—AS., p 381, ll. 5-6. *cf.* Guj. दीकरी.

डुङ्ग n. a multitude of slabs, a multitude of thieves.

डुङ्गानि-शिलावृन्दानि चोरवृन्दानि वा सन्त्येषु इत्यस्त्यर्थे प्रत्ययः **डुङ्गराः**—शिलोच्चयमात्ररूपाः—

—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 2, leaf 168. *cf.* Guj. डुंगो, डुंघो, डूंगो, डूंघो 'a thief', and दोंगुं, Kannaḍa डोंका 'roguish, arrogant, fleshy'.

डुङ्गर m. a hillock

डुंगराः—शिलोच्चयमात्ररूपाः—

—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 2, p. 168. *cf.* Deśī डुंगर; Guj. डुंगर; Hindī डूंगर, Mar. डोंगर.

डोडकिता adj. about to bear or produce fruits, fruitioning.

गर्भिण्यो जातगर्भा **डोडकिता** वल्ल्यः **फलाभिमुखवल्ल्य** इत्यर्थः—

—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 3, leaf 208. *cf.* Guj. substantives डोडवुं-वो, डोडो, नोडो.

डोलिका f. a type of litter.

'**गिल्लि**'त्ति पुरुषद्वयोत्क्षिप्ता **डोलिका**—

—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 2, leaf 123. *cf.* Deśī डोला; Guj. डोळी. *Vide* झोल्लिका.

√ढक् to close.

सा एवंविधा त्रिप्रकारा स्त्री एकाकिनं साधुं प्रविष्टं दृष्ट्वा गृहे द्वारं **ढक्कयित्वा** गृह्णीयात्।

—OND., *Bhāṣyagāthā* 222, leaf 150. *cf.* Deśī ढक; Guj. √ढांक 'to cover, to close with a lid, to conceal'.

ढड्डुर n. a loud noise.

ढड्डुरं महच्छब्दम् ॥ ३१ ॥—

—SPD., p. 36. *cf.* Deśī ढड्डर; also Deśī ढड्ढ 'a fife'; Guj, Hindī ढाढी 'a fife-player'. [The name of a small river in Central Guj is ढाढर, which can be a derivative of ढड्डर. This is noteworthy when we compare these words with similar words नद-नदी which literally mean 'that which makes a sound'.]

तन्दुलीयक m. Name of a green vegetable, *Hermaphrodite amaranth.*

हरितानि **तन्दुलीयक** ....—

—As., p. 51, l. 24. *cf.* Pkt. तदुलेज्जय; Guj. तांदळजो; Mar. तांदुळजा.

तप्र m. a raft, a float.

सम्प्रति नारकादीनामेवावधेः संस्थानं चिन्त्यते—तत्र नारकाणामवधिः **तप्राकारः, तप्रो** नाम काष्ठसमुदायविशेषो यो नदीप्रवाहेण प्लाव्यमानो दूरादानीयते, स चायतरूयस्रश्च भवति, तदाकारोऽवधिर्नारकाणां—

—NM., p. 88, ll. 6-7;

तप्राकारादीनां च व्याख्यानमिदं भाष्यकृदाह—**तप्पेण** समागारो ओही नेओ स चाययत्तंसो [चायतत्र्यस्रः]। उड्ढायओ उ पल्लो उवरिं च स किंचि संखेत्तो ॥ १

—*Ibid.*, p. 88, ll. 18-19. *cf.* Guj. त्रापो, तरापो; Hindī तरापा; Mar. तराफा.

तलवर m. a high-placed police-officer.

राइणा तुट्ठेण चामीकरपट्टो रयणखइतो सिरसि बद्धो यस्स सो **तलवरो** भण्णति—
—ADC., p 11, l. 6;
जे इमे राईसर-**तलवर**—माडंबिअ०—
—AD., *Sūtra* 19;
परितुष्टनरपतिप्रदत्तरत्नालङ्कृतसौवर्णपट्टविभूषितशिरास्**तलवरः**—
—AMH., p. 23, l. 9;
तलवरश्च प्रभुस्थानीयो नगरादिचिन्तकः—
—US., *Adhyayana* 11, p. 343;
'**तलवराः**' राजवल्लभाः—
—BSA., *Śataka* 9, *Udd.* 33;
तलवराः परितुष्टनरपतिप्रदत्तपट्ट-बन्धविभूषिता राजस्थानीयाः—
—*Ibid.*, 9. 33. *cf.* Old Guj. तलार.

तिड्डक m. a locust.

मक्षिका-डोलादयो वा प्राणिनो यत्र बहवः प्रविशन्ति, डोलाः—**तिड्डका** उच्यन्ते—
—BKK., Vol. III, p. 675. *cf.* Deśī तिड्ड; Guj. तीड n.

तिलककरणी f. a pencil or small stick used for making the decorative *tilaka*-marks with unguents of sandal etc.

तिलकः क्रियते यया सा **तिलककरणी**—दन्तमयी सुवर्णात्मिका वा शलाका यया गोरोचनादियुक्तया तिलकः क्रियत इति—
—SKS., *Śrutaskandha* 1, *Adh.* 4, *Udd* 2, leaf 117.

तिलपर्पट n. a sweetmeat made from sesamum seeds.

तिलपर्पटं पिष्टतिलमयम्—
—DVH., *Adh.* 5, *Udd.* 2, p. 185. *cf* Guj. तलपापडी f. *Vide* तिलपर्पटिका, पर्पटि, पापडिका; also गुडपर्पटिका, तिलशष्कुलिका.

तिलपर्पटिका f. *same as* तिलपर्पट.

तथा शष्कुली **तिलपर्पटिकाम्**—
—DVH., *Adh.* 5, *Udd.* 2, p. 176. *cf.* Guj. तलपापडी. *Vide* तिलपर्पट, पर्पटि, पापडिका; also गुडपर्पटिका, तिलशष्कुलिका.

तिलशष्कुलिका f. *same as* तिलपर्पट.

जह वा **तिलसक्कुलिया** बहुएहि तिलेहि मेलिया संती।
पत्तेयसरीराणं तह हुंति सरीरसंघाया ॥ १३२ ॥
--यथा वा **तिलशष्कुलिका**—तिलप्रधाना पिष्टमयपोलिका बहुभिस्तिलैर्निष्पादिता सती भवति, तथा प्रत्येकशरीराणां तरूणां शरीरसङ्घाता भवन्तीति द्रष्टव्यमिति ॥
—AS., *Niryukti-gāthā* 132, p. 52. *cf.* Guj. तलसांकळी. *Vide* गुडपर्पटिका, तिलपर्पटिका. शष्कुलिका.

तिलोदक n. sesamum-water.

तिलोदकं—महाराष्ट्रादिषु निस्त्याचिततिलधावनं जलम्—
—KD., *Paryuṣaṇā-samācārī*, p. 10.

तृणकुब्जीकरण n. the slightest exertion ; lit. : ' bending a straw. '

एवमन्योऽपि जराभिभूतविग्रह**स्तृणकुब्जीकरणे**ऽप्यसमर्थः सन् कार्यैकनिष्ठलोकात् परिभवमाप्नोति।
—As., p. 96, ll. 5-6. *cf.* Guj. idiom: तणखलु तोडवुं ' breaking a straw ' in an identical sense.

तृणपूलिका f. a bundle of grass.

...जलियचुडली विव अमुच्चमाणडहणसीलाओ...
Sanskrit *Chāyā*:
प्रदीप्त**तृणपूलिके**वामुच्यमाना दहनशीलाः ॥ ५६ ॥
—PD., 5—*Tandulavaicārika-prakirṇakam*, p. 50. *cf.* Guj. पूळी, पूळो and Hindī पूली, पूला ' a bundle of grass. '

थिग्गल(क) n. a patch sewed on to cover a hole in a garment.

अयं च 'पाशकबद्धः' कसाबद्धः तथा 'अशुषिरः' गृहिसीवनिकारहितः प्रति**थिग्गल**वर्जितो वा
—BKK., Vol. IV, p. 1116;
अन्यस्य छिद्रवतो वस्त्रस्य **थिग्गलकं** कुर्वन्ति—
—VM., *Udd.* 8, p. 29. *cf.* Guj. थीगडु, थीगडुं ; Hindī थेगला.

थिल्लि n. ? a saddle.

'**थिल्लि**'त्ति लाटानां यदश्वपल्यानम्, तदन्यविषयेषु '**थिल्लि**' इत्युच्यते।
—BSA., Vol. II, p. 88 (*Śat.* 3, *Udd.* 4);
'**थिल्लु**'त्ति अश्वपलाणं—
—*Ibid.*, *Śat.* 8, *Udd.* 9. *Vide* जिन, पल्यान.

थुड n. the stem of a tree.

स्कन्धः—**थुडं**, त्वक्–छल्ली—
—RPM., *Sūtra* 3, leaf 5. [The vocable is fairly prevalent in Old Guj. ; *vide e.g. Vasantavilāsa* (c. V.S. 1400 = 1344 A.D.), verse 81:
एक **थुड** [*v.l.* थुड, **थड**] बउल नइ बेउल
बेउ लतां नव मेउ।
भमर विचालि किस्या मर
पामर विलसि न बेउ ॥]
cf. mod. Guj. थड. *Vide* स्थुड.

दद्दर m. a stair-case.

दद्दर सिल सोवाणे......... ॥ सूत्र १६४ ॥
—'**दर्दरः**' निरन्तरकाष्ठफलकमयो निःश्रेणिविशेषः।
—PNM., p. 109. *cf.* Guj. दादर, दादरो.

दवरक m. a cord.
'त्वचा वा' सनादिकया लतया वाऽन्यतमेन वा **दवरकेण** ताडनतः—
—SKS., *Śruta.* 2, *Adh.* 2, leaf 312;
ततः स्थूला वालुकामयाः कतिपये **दवरकाः** कृत्वा शीघ्रं प्रेषणीया इति—
—NM., p. 147, l. 11, also lines 13, 14;
पोट्टलकान् **दवरकेण** सङ्कलय्य—
—BKM. p. 167. *cf.* Guj. दोरो, Hindī डोरा. *Vide* दवरिका.

दवरिका f. a string.
जीवया-प्रत्यञ्चया **दवरिकया** इत्यर्थः—
—SPM., leaf 233. *cf.* Guj. दोरी; Hindī डोरी. *Vide* दवरक.

दाढिका f. the chin.
(अहरट्ठा)-**दाढिका**—
—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 9, p. 225. *cf.* Guj. दाढी; Hindī दाढ़ी.

दाण n. a tax.
शुल्कं—**दाणमिति** लोके—
—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 5, p. 103;
शुल्कं विक्रेतव्यक्रयाणकं प्रति मण्डपिकायां राजदेयं ग्राह्यं '**दाण**' इति लोके.
—KS., p. 253. *cf.* Guj., Mar. दाण; Hindī दान.

दोरखेलक m. *same as* जल्ल.
(नडनट्टगजल.........)—नाटककारकाः नर्त्तका ये स्वयं नृत्यन्ति **जल्ला-दोरखेलकाः**—
—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 5, p. 102. *Vide* वरत्राखेलक.

धीउल्लिका f. a doll.
AMH., p. 13, ll. 9-11. For quotation *vide* पल्लव. [The term धिउल्लिया is employed in the *Samarāiccakahā* in the sense of a doll.] *cf.* Pkt. धिउल्लिया; Old Guj. **धी-धीया-धूया** '**a** daughter'. Also *cf.* a parallel semantic development: Skt. पुत्रिका, पुत्तलिका 'a daughter' and hence 'a doll'.

नशन n. running away. VM., part III, p. 103. For quotation see वाड्डु. cf. Guj. नाशी जवुं.

नर्कुटिक m. a staple.
नागदन्तकौ—**नर्कुटिकौ**-अङ्कुटिकावित्यर्थः—
—JPS, *Vakṣaskāra* 1, leaf 50. *cf.* Guj. नकूचो, Hindī नकूचा.

नही f. the skin close to the nail.
नखिका—**नहीति** लोकरूढिः।—
—KK., p. 193;

कणिका—शाल्यादिबीजानां मुखमूले नखिका **नहीति** लोके तत्समवर्णम् ॥ ३ ॥
—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 9, p. 226;
बीजसूक्ष्मं कणिका शाल्यादिबीजानां **नहीति** रूढा नखिका।—
—KSV., p. 151;
बीजसूक्ष्मं कणिका-शाल्यादिबीजानां मुखमूले **नहीति** रूढा नखिका—
—KD., *Paryuṣaṇā-samācārī*, p. 16. *cf.* Guj. नहिंयु. *Vide* नहीउं.

नहीउं n. *same as* नही.
कणिका नखिका '**नहीउं**' इति लोके तत्समानवर्णानि नाम प्रज्ञप्तानि—
—KS., p. 565. *cf.* Guj. नहियुं.

नाहर m. a wolf.
(ईहावि(मि)ग)—वृकाः, **नाहरा** इति प्रसिद्धाः—
—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 3, p. 60. *cf.* Guj. नहार; Hindī नाहर.

निम्बतिलक m. the crush of *melia azadirachta* leaves and sesamum seeds.
'**निंबतिलमाइएसु** होज्ज 'त्ति (६२२-११), चैत्रमासे हि किल क्वचिन्निम्बपत्राणि तिल-मिश्राणि कुट्टयित्वा हृदयशुद्धयर्थं **निम्बतिलकाः** क्रियन्ते—
—AHH., p. 97.

निष्पाव m. a kind of pulse, *Dolichos lablab.* BKK., Vol. II, p. 414; KK., p. 74.

नेम m. an aim.
जह कारणं तु तंतू पडस्स तेसिं च होति पम्हाइं।
नाणाइतिगस्सेवं आहारो मोक्खनेमस्स ॥ ७० ॥
—यथा पटस्य तन्तवः कारणं तेषामपि तन्तूनां कारणानि पक्ष्माणि भवन्ति, 'एवम्' अनेन प्रकारेण ज्ञानादित्रिकस्य 'मोक्खनेमस्स'त्ति **नेम**शब्दो देश्यः कार्याभिधाने रूढः, ततो मोक्षो **नेमः**—कार्यं यस्य तस्य कारणं भवत्याहारः।
—PNM., *Sūtra* 70, p. 28. *cf.* Deśī णेम; Guj., Mar. नेम 'motive, purpose, goal'.

पउंचा m. the wrist.
(पउट्ठ)—प्रकोष्ठौ—लोकोक्त्या **पउंचा**—
—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 2, p. 50;
रमणिज्जपिच्छणिज्जं थिरलट्ठपउट्ठ ...—(पउट्ठ)—प्रकोष्ठौ कलाचिके '**पउंचा**' इति लोकप्रसिद्धौ हस्तावयवौ—
—KS., p. 116. *cf.* Guj. पहोंचो; Hindī, Mar. पहोंचा.

पञ्चकुल m. a government officer.
चुल्लगो-भोजनं तदेव करः चुल्लगकरः स चायं ग्रामे **पञ्चकुला**दीनधिकृत्य प्रसिद्ध एव—
—AM., p. 596. *cf.* Guj. पंचोळी.

पटालिका f. the frontage, the first portion of a house next to the entrance-door.

या वा ' अपसारिका '—**पटालिका**—

—BKK., Vol. IV, p. 976. *cf.* Guj. पडाळी. *Vide* अपसारिका, अवसरिका.

पट्टिका f. a plank to sit upon.

' भिसियाओ य 'त्ति वृषिका—उपवेशन**पट्टिका**:—

—AuA., *Sūtra* 39, leaf 95. *cf.* Guj. पाटडी, पाटली.

पड्डुक m. a he-buffalo.

पड्डुकछागोत्पत्त्यादिबहुदोषहेतुमहिष्यजादिसङ्ग्रहं च वर्जयेदिति ।

—SPR., p. 40. *cf.* Guj. पाडो ; Hindī पड्डा.

परिअंचि m. ? a curtain.

' जवणिअं '—यवनिका **परिअंचि** इति लोके—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* III, p. 72. This word is fairly common in Old Guj. in such forms as परीअचि and परियच्छि; *vide e.g* :

" खोटु भाषइ भूपति वली,
अम्ह कुमरि छि ते अंधली ।
तेणि कार्जि परीअचि परटवुं,
अंधानन नहि देखवुं ॥ "

—*Bilhaṇapañcāśikā* of Jñāna, verse 28;

" परियच्छि तिरस्करिणी "—*Auktikapadāni* (*Prācīna Gujarātī Gadyasandarbha*, p. 190. For details *vide* Sāṇḍesarā B J., " परीअचि ", *Buddhiprakāśa* (Guj. Journal), July-Sept. 1945, pp. 98-99.

पर्पटि f. *same as* गुड[ल]पर्पटिका.

' सक्कुली ' **पर्पटिः**—

—NC., part III, *Bhāṣya-gāthā* 2480, leaf 504. *cf.* Guj. पापडी. *Vide* पापडिका, सक्कुली.

पल्यान n. a saddle.

' थिल्लि'त्ति लाटानां यदश्वपल्यानम् , तदन्यविषयेषु ' थिल्लि ' इत्युच्यते ।

—BSA., Vol. II, p. 88 (*Śat.* 3, *Udd.* 4). *cf.* Skt. पर्याण ; Pkt. पल्लाण ; Guj. पलाण. *Vide* जिन, थिल्लि.

पल्लक m. a circular vessel for keeping corn.

पल्लको नाम लाटदेशे धान्याधार-विशेषः, स चोर्ध्वाध आयत उपरि च किञ्चित्संक्षिप्तः—

—PM., *Avadhipada* 33, leaf 542;

'**पल्लग**'त्ति **पल्लको** नाम लाटदेशे धान्याधारविशेषः, स च ऊर्ध्वायत उपरि च किञ्चित् संक्षिप्तः—

—AM., p. 58;

पल्यको नाम लाटदेशे धान्यालयः—

—*Ibid.*, p. 113;

भवनपतीनां सर्वेषामपि **पल्लकसंस्थानसंस्थितः** [अवधिः], **पल्लको** नाम लाटदेशे धान्याधारविशेषः, स चोर्ध्वायित उपरि च किञ्चित्संक्षिप्तः—

—NM. p. 88, ll. 7-8;

तप्राकारादीनां च व्याख्यानमिदं भाष्यकृदाह—तप्पेण समागारो ओटि नेओ स चाययतंसो। **उड्ढायो उ पल्लो उवरिं च स किंचि संखेत्तो ॥**

—*Ibid.*, p. 88, ll. 18-19. *cf.* Pkt. पल्लग; Guj. पालुं; पालुं.

पल्लव m. the skirts or hem of a garment

' चित्रकर्म ' चित्रलिखितं रूपकं ' पोत्थकम्मे व 'त्ति अत्र पोत्थं-पोतं वस्त्रमित्यर्थः, तत्र कर्म-तत्पल्लवनिष्पन्नं धीउल्लिकारूपकमित्यर्थः, अथवा पोत्थं-पुस्तकं तच्चेह संपुटकरूपं गृह्यते, तत्र कर्म तन्मध्ये वर्तिकालिखितं रूपकमित्यर्थः अथवा पोत्थं-ताडपत्रादि तत्र कर्म-तच्छेदनिष्पन्नं रूपकं—

—AMH., p. 13, ll. 9-11. *cf.* Guj., Mar. पालव.

पागडां n. pl. a type of anklets.

चरणमालिका—संस्थानविशेषकृतं पादाभरणं लोके **पागडां** इति प्रसिद्धम् —

—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 2, leaf 106. [The vocable is fairly prevalent in Old Guj.; *vide, e.g., Varṇakasamuccaya* (Prācīna Gurjara Granthamālā, no. 4), part I, p. 217, ll. 22-23 : " पदकडी, हांस, झांझर, नेउर, सांकलां, ग्रैवेयक, **पागडां**, वीछीया, अगूथली. "]

पाट m. a ward or area.

' वाडेसु 'त्ति वाटेषु **पाटेषु** वा वृत्तिवरण्डिकादिपरिक्षिप्तगृहसमूहात्मकेषु—

—US., *Adh.* 30, pp. 604-605. *cf.* Guj. पाडो. *Vide* वाट.

पाटक m. a ward, a locality.

युवतीनां च—तरुणीनां पण्यतरुणीनामिति हृदयं, यानि विविधानि सन्निविष्टानि-सन्निवेशनानि **पाटका**स्तानि बहुलानि बहूनि यस्यां सा तया—

—AuA., *Sūtra* 1, leaf 2;

तत्रार्हच्चैत्यानां जनानां व्रतिनां च विविधानि यानि सन्निविष्टानि—**पाटका**स्तैर्बहुलेति विग्रहः—

—*Ibid.*, leaf 2;

वसहीए एवं निवेसण-**पाडग**-साही-निओग-पुर-देस-रज्जाओ......पारज्जियओ कीरइ।—

पाटको ग्रामादेर्व्यवच्छिन्नः सन्निवेशः।

—JKCV., pp. 29, 58. *cf.* Guj. पाडो ' a street '.

पाटवीकुंवर m. the heir apparent to the throne.

मंगलजयसद्दकयालोए अणेगगणनायगदंडनायगराईसर.....—(राइ)—राजानो माण्डलिकाः (ईसर)—ईश्वराः युवराजाः ' **पाटवीकुंवर** ' इति लोके—

—KS, p. 180. *cf.* Guj., Hindī पाटवीकुंवर.

पानां n. pl. emerald-leaves.

हारविरायंत......आइयपत्तिअ...—(आइयपत्तिअ)—आयुक्ताभिर्यथास्थानस्थापिताभिः पत्रिकाभिर्मरकतपत्रैः ' **पानां** ' इति लोकप्रसिद्धैः—

—KS., p. 124. *cf.* Guj. पान, पानुं 'a leaf' in singular and पानां 'leaves' in plural.

पापडिका f. *same as* पर्पटि.

सष्कुलीति **पापडिका**दि—
—DVC., *Adh.* 5, p. 184. *cf.* Guj. पापडी. *Vide* गुड[ल]पर्पटिका, तिलपर्पटिका, तिलपर्पट.

पालक्या f. a kind of green vegetable, *Spinasia oleracea.*

हरितानि तन्दुलीयक......**चिल्लीपालक्या**दीनि—
—AS., p. 51, ll. 26-27. *cf.* Pkt. पालक्का ; Guj. पालक, पालख f.

पांशुलि f. a rib.

आउसो ! अणुपुव्वेणं अट्ठारस य पिट्ठकरंडगसंधीओ बारस **पांसुलि**करंडया छप्पंसुलिए कडाहे बिहत्थिया कुच्छी चउरंगुलिआ गीवा चउपलिआ जिब्भा दुपलियाणि अच्छीणि चउक्कवाल सिरं बत्तीसं दंता सत्तंगुलिया जीहा अद्धुट्ठपलियं हिययं पणवीस पलाइं कालिज्जं, दो अंता पंचवामा पण्णत्ता, तं जहा–थूलंते य तणुअंते य......

Sanskrit *Chāyā*—

आयुष्मन् ! आनुपूर्वेणाष्टादश पृष्टकरण्डकसन्धयः द्वादश **पांशुलि**करण्डकाःषट्**पांशुलि**कः कटाहः द्विहस्तिका कुक्षिः चतुरङ्गुलिका ग्रीवा चतुष्पला जिह्वा द्विपले अक्षिणी चतुष्कपालं शिरः द्वात्रिंशद्दन्ताः सप्ताङ्गुला जिह्वा अध्युष्टपलं हृदयं पञ्चविंशतिपलं कालेय्यकं द्वे अन्त्रे पञ्चवामे प्रज्ञप्ते, तद्यथा—स्थूलान्त्रं च तन्वन्त्रं च......

—PD., V : *Tandulavaicārika-prakīrnakam*, pp. 44-45. *cf.* Pkt. पासल ; Guj. पांसळी, पांसळु ; Hindī पांसुरी.

पिञ्जनिका f. a bow-shaped instrument used for carding cotton.

तदेव रुतं **पिञ्जनिकया** पिञ्जितम्—
—BKK., Vol. III, p. 846. *cf.* Guj. पींजणी.

पुट्टलिका f. a packet, a bundle.

ग्रन्थिं—कार्षापणादि**पुट्टलिकां** भिन्दन्ति—
—AuA., leaf 2. *cf.* Deśī पोट्टलिगा , Guj. पोटली.

पूणिका f. a roll of carded cotton prepared for spinning.

तदेव रुतं पिञ्जनिकया ताडितं पिञ्जितम् , तदेव **पूणिकया** वलितं पेलुरिति भण्यते—
—BKK., Vol. III, p. 846. *cf.* Deśī पूणिआ, पूणी ; Guj. पूणी. *Vide* पेलु.

पूंठी f. the felloe of a wheel.

पघसिअपसिअनिम्मिअनवपट्टपुट्ठपरिणिट्ठिअं—......निर्मिताः—निवेशिताः नवाः—अजीर्णाः पट्टाः—पट्टिका यत्र तत्तथाविधं यत्पृष्ठं—चक्रपरिधिरूपं यल्लोके **पूंठी** इति प्रसिद्धं ....—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 3, leaf 211. *cf.* Guj. पूठियु, पूंठियुं.

पूपलिका f. a small round cake of flour, meal, etc. thicker than ordinary cakes and mixed with sugar and spices.

हस्तविषया **मण्डक-पूपलिका**दिना गुडशर्करादि हस्तस्थितं वेष्टयित्वा मुखे प्रक्षिपति।
—BKK , p. 239.

पेट्ट n. stomach, belly.
'उदरं '-पेट्टं—
—NC., *Bhāṣya-gāthā* 593, part I, p. 171. *cf.* Deśī, Guj., Hindī पेट. *Vide* पोट्ट.

पेलु m. a roll of carded cotton.
तदेव रूतं पिञ्जनिकया ताडितं पिञ्जितम्, तदेव पूणिकया वलितं पेलुरिति भण्यते—
—BKK., Vol. III, p. 846. *cf.* Deśī पिडली, Pkt. पेलु; Guj. पेल, पेलवुं, पोल, पोलवुं. *Vide* पूणिका.

पोंचि f. a bracelet.
(आइय पत्तिय)—आचिताः—यथास्थानस्थापिताः पत्रिका पोंचि इति प्रसिद्धाः—
—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 2, p. 52. *cf.* Guj. पहोंची; Hindī पहुँची.

पोट्ट n. stomach, belly.
परं 'तदू' अध्वगमनं कर्त्तुमुर्द्धदरे साधूनां न कल्पते। ते च दरा द्विविधाः, तद्यथा—
पोट्टदरा धान्यभाजनदराश्च। तत्र पोट्टम् उदरं तद्रूपा दराः पोट्टदराः, धान्यभाजनानि
—कटपल्यादयस्तान्येव दरा धान्यभाजनदराः। ते दरा ऊर्द्ध यत्र पूर्यन्ते तदूर्द्धदरमुच्यते।
—BKK., Vol. III, p. 815. *cf.* Mar. पोट. *Vide* पेट्ट.

पोट्टलक m. a bundle, a packet.
पोट्टलकान् दवरकेण सङ्कलय्य...—
—BKM., p. 167;
जनः लोकः प्रचुरफलायामटव्यां गत्वा फलानि यावत्पर्याप्तं गृहीत्वा यत्र गत्वा शोषयति, पश्चात् गन्त्री-पोट्टलकादिभिरानीय नगरादौ विक्रीणाति—
—BKK., p. 279. *cf.* Guj. पोटलो, पोटली, पोटलु. *Vide* पोट्टलिका.

पोट्टलिका f. a small packet.
दृग्दोषादिभ्यश्च रक्षाकरी पोट्टलिकां बध्नन्ति—
—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 5, leaf 394;
होमं कृत्वा बबन्धुस्ता, रक्षापोट्टलिकां द्वयोः॥ १७॥
—KS., p. 238; KD., p. 70. *cf.* Deśī पोट्टलिका; Guj. पोटली. *Vide* पोट्टलक.

प्रश्रवण n. urine.
—AMH., leaf 50, line 3. For quotation *vide* छिहरक.

फलहक n. outskirts, vicinity, a way leading to.
यदि पुरस्य द्वाराणि पिहितानि, ग्रामस्य फलहकं पथानं वाऽजानंस्तिष्ठति यावत्प्रभातमिति।
—OND., *Niryukti-gāthā* 11, leaf 23. *cf.* Pkt. फलिहा f. 'a ditch surrounding a fortress', फलिहि m. f. 'surroundings, area'; Guj. फळियुं.

फलि f. a bean.
'छिवाडि'त्ति मुद्गादेः फलिं, तामेव विशिनष्टि—
—AS., p. 293, ll. 24-25; p. 294, l. 3. *cf.* Guj. फळी. *Vide* छिवाडि.

√फव्व् to be successful.

फव्विहामो—

—BK., *Bhāṣya-gāthā* 2219;

कोसंबीए णगरीए अज्जमहागिरी अज्जसुहत्थी य दोवि समोसढा। तया य अवीयकाले साधूजणो य हिंडमाणो **फव्वति**।

—NC., *Udd.* 16, part V, *Bhāṣya-gāthā* 5694, p. 1114. *cf.* Guj. √फाव.

फुल्लडिका f. a sign resembling an asterisk.

एताश्चतस्रो रेखाः **फुल्लडिकायुक्ताः**, शेषा एकविंशतिसङ्ख्या ऋजव. ॥ २४ ॥

—JKM., II: *Ghaṭikādikālamānam*, p. 11. *cf.* Guj. फूदडी 'an asterisk'. *Vide* फुल्लिका.

फुल्लिका adj. *same as* फुल्लडिका.

......तासां च पञ्चविंशतिसङ्ख्यानां रेखाणां मध्ये या रेखाः 'नन्दीपिनद्धा' **फुल्लिका**-युक्तास्ताश्चतस्रो वेदितव्याः ॥ २१ ॥

—JKM., II: *Ghaṭikādikālamānam*, p. 10.

फेफस n. a lung.

For quotation *vide* अवाल्. PD., V: *Tandulavaicārika-prakīrnakam*, pp. 46-47. *cf.* Guj. फेफसुं.

बपोहरीआ फुल n. a kind of flower which opens at noon, *Hibiscus hirtus*.

(बंधुजीवग)—बन्धुजीवकं पुष्पविशेषः '**बपोहरीआ फुल**' इति लोकप्रसिद्धम्—

—KS., p. 170. *cf.* Guj. बपोरियु. *Vide* बफुरिआ.

बफुरिआ n. *same as* बपोहरीआ फुल.

(सुअमुहगुंजद्धरागबंधुजीवग)—शुकचंचुगुञ्जार्द्धरागः पुष्पविशेषः **बफुरिआ** इति लोके

—KKS., p. 67. *cf.* Guj. बपोरियुं.

बरट्टी f. a kind of corn, *Panicum italicum*.

'बरग' त्ति **बरट्टी** धान्यविशेषः सपादलक्षादिषु प्रसिद्धः—

—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 2, leaf 124. *Vide* बर्बटी.

बर्बटी f. a kind of corn, *Panicum italicum*.

—KK., p. 74. *cf.* Guj, Mar. बटी. *Vide* बरट्टी.

बहिरख m. an armlet, mostly of beads.

...(तुडिअत्ति)—त्रुटिताश्च बाहुरक्षकाः, '**बहिरखा**' इति लोके...

—KS., p. 52. *cf.* Guj बेरखो, बेरखी.

बहुकरिका f. a large broom.

'सम्माजर्न' **बहुकरिकया** प्रमार्जनम्—

—BKK., Vol. II, p. 495. *cf.* Deśī बोहारी; Guj. बोघरो m.

बूरो m. a kind of vegetable.
बूरो वनस्पतिविशेषः—
—NC., p. 1; KS., p. 110; KD., p. 38.

बेडिका f. a boat.
ये **बेडिकाया** अवतारितास्ते नाविकस्य वा साधूनां वा उपरि प्रद्वेषं गच्छेयुः ।
—BKK., Vol. V, p. 1488. *cf.* Deśī बेड, बेडा, Guj. बेडली, बेडो.

बोड m. one who is clean-shaved on the head (in contempt).
आहाकम्मं भुंजइ न पडिक्कमए य तस्स ठाणस्स ।
एमेव अडइ **बोडो** लुक्कविलुक्को जह कवोडो ॥ २१७ ॥
—......'**बोड:**' जिनाज्ञाभङ्गे निष्फलं तस्य शिरोलुञ्चनादीति **बोड** इत्येवमधिक्षिपति ।
—PNM., pp. 76, 93. *cf.* Deśī बोड्ड; Guj. बोडु 'having a clean-shaved head'.

बोक्कट m. a goat.
किमेवं छागलेन न्यायेन जल्पथ ? **बोक्कट**वन्मूर्खतया किमेवमेव प्रलपथ ? इत्यर्थः ।
—BKK., Vol. VI, p. 1607. *cf.* Deśī बोकड, बोक्कड; Guj. बोकडो.

ब्राह्मणी f. a type of insect.
हलिका गृहकोकिला **ब्राह्मणी** वा—
—KD., *Paryuṣaṇā-samācārī*, p. 17. *cf.* Guj. बामणी. *Vide* गृहकोकिला, हलिका.

भटित्रक n. a burnt thing.
'तेजसा'—अग्निना 'अभितापनानि' स्त्रीसम्बन्धिभिरुत्तेजितैः राजपुरुषैर्**भटित्रकाण्यपि** क्रियन्ते पारदारिकाः—
—SKS., *Adh.* IV, *Udd.* 1, *Sūtra* 21 (*Śrutaskandha* 1), p 112. *cf.* Guj. भडथु 'a well-baked thing, a highly burnt thing'.

भण्डन n. employment of abusive language.
परस्परोपमर्दकानि दण्डादण्डि**भण्डनं** विदध्यात्—
—AS., p. 194, l. 10. *cf.* Guj. भांडण.

भरडक m. a contemptuous term for the keeper of Śiva-temple.
यत्र ब्राह्मण-तापस-**भरडक**-लैङ्गिकादिभिर्मुनीनामपमानं न स्यात् ॥ ११ ॥
—KK., p. 7. *cf.* Guj. भरडो.

भर्जिका f. any green esculent vegetable.
'डोगो'त्ति वस्तुलादि**भर्जिका**—
—PVA., 2.5, leaf 163. *cf.* Pkt. भज्जिआ; Guj. Hindī, Mar. भाजी.

भाटक n. a rent.
ये पूर्वं 'क्रयितादयः' वसतेर्**भाटक**समर्पणविक्रयणादयो दोषा वर्णिताः..—
—BKK., Vol. II, p. 459. *cf.* Guj. भाडुं; Hindī भाडा; Mar. भाडें.

भाण्ड m. a joker speaking indecent language.
लासका—ये रासकान् ददति जयशब्दप्रयोक्तारो वा **भाण्डा** इत्यर्थः—
—KD., p. 73. *cf.* Guj. भांड.

भाण्डागारिता adj. preserved, concealed.
सम्पूर्णा तु गाथा **भाण्डागारिता**—
—AS., p. 169, l. 28. *cf.* Guj. भडारेली.

भिण्ड m. name of an esculent vegetable, *Abelmoschus esculentus.*
स्थूलानां मध्ये एरण्डो **भिण्डो** वा प्रकर्षभूतः—
—AS., p. 178, l. 2. *cf.* Guj भींडो.

मण्डक m. a kind of bread.
'लोहि' त्ति **मण्डका**दिपचनभाजनम् —
—BSA., *Śataka* 8, *Udd.* 9;
हस्तविषया-**मण्डक**-पूपलिकादिना गुड-शर्करादि हस्तस्थितं वेष्टयित्वा **मुखे प्रक्षिपति।**
मुखविषया-पूर्वं **मण्डका**दि मुखे प्रक्षिप्य ततः शर्करा-खण्डादि प्रक्षिपति।
—BKK., p. 239;
'**मण्डकाः**' कणिक्कामयाः—
—*Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p 504 *cf* Guj. मांडो, Mar. मांडा.

मण्डिका f. a village council-hall.
विकटगृहे **मण्डिकायां** यत्र ग्राम्यपरिषदुपविशति तत्र—
—KD., *Paryuṣanā-samācārī*, p. 13. *cf.* Guj. मडी. [At Pāṭaṇa in north Guj. the City Police Inspector's Office, which is situated in the heart of the market, is still known among the villagers as मंडी.]

मर्कोटक m. a large black ant.
मर्कोटका अत्र रात्रावुत्तिष्ठन्तो –
—BKK., Vol. III, p. 830;
रात्रौ **मर्कोटकादीन्** दोषान् ज्ञात्वा—
—*Ibid.*, p. 830. [मक्कोडग, the Pkt. parallel of this word, is employed in *Bhāṣya-gāthās* 2930-2931 at p. 830.] *cf* Guj. मंकोडो, मकोडो; Hindī मकोडा.

मल्लक n. a trough, an earthen pot for keeping whey etc.
JKC., *Gāthā* 9, p. 9, l. 8. For quotation *vide* डगल. *cf.* Guj. मालवुं.

मल्लिका f. soot, lamp-black.
खञ्जनं दीप**मल्लिका**मलः—
—RPM., *Sūtra* 15, leaf 32. *cf.* Guj. मळी.

मशकगृ[म]ह n. a mosquito-curtain.

(रत्तंसुअसंवुए)—**मशकगृहनामरक्तवस्त्रावृते**—
—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 2, p. 48;
रक्तांशुकेन **मशकग्रहा**भिधानेन रक्तवस्त्रेणाच्छादिते—
—KS., p. 110;
रक्तांशुकसंवृते **मशकगृहा**भिधानवस्त्रावृते —
—KD., p. 38.

महल्ल ? a bar of gold.

तपनीयपट्टैः रक्तस्वर्णमयपट्टकैर्लोके **महल्ल** इति प्रसिद्धैः सङ्गीते दृढीकृते......
—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 2-3, leaf 211.

महेला f. a wife, a woman.

ततः पश्चादायातः सभार्यकः सः पुरुषो भणितो मूलदेवेन—भो महापुरुष ! **महेलाया** ममास्मिन् वननिकुञ्जे प्रसवो वर्तते, ततः क्षणमात्रं निज**महेलां** विसर्जय—
—NM., p. 154, ll. 20-21;
ततः पुनरपि मन्त्रिणा लेखप्रदानेन सा **महेलोक्ता**—द्वावपि निजपती तयोरेव ग्रामयोः समकं प्रेषणीयौ—
—*Ibid.*, p. 155, l. 7;
एवमपि यदि न तिष्ठति ततोऽतिष्ठन्ती गृहान्निष्काश्यते, मा भूदपरासामपि गृह**महेला**-नामस्याः प्रसङ्गजनित एवंविध एव कुहेवाक इति कृत्वा ।
—BKK., Vol. II, p. 389. *cf.* Skt. महिला, महीला : Pkt. महिला, महेला ; Old Guj. महिला, महिली, महेला. [In Old Guj. it also means 'a maid-servant in a royal palace'. There psychologically it appears to have been connected with महेल 'a palace'.]

माड m. the storey of the portico or gate; the front portion of a storeyed house.

आह च मूलटीकाकारः—" कूडो-**माडभाग** उच्छ्रयः शिखर "मिति—
—JM., *Pratipatti* 3, *Sūtra* 129, leaf 204;
कूटो-**माडभागः**—
—*Ibid., Pratipatti* 3, *Sūtra* 183, leaf 360. *cf.* Skt. माडि; Deśī माडिअ; Guj. माड, माढ; Hindī माढा, माढी, Mar. माडा. *Vide* माढ.

माढ m. *same as* माड.

कूटो-**माढभागः**—
—JPS., *Vakṣaskāra* 1, leaf 49. *cf.* Guj. माढ; Hindī माढा, माढी.

माघविय m. a type of wandering mendicants.

नड नट्टग......लासग आरक्खग लंखमंख......—लासकाः रासपाठकाः तलाराः वंशाग्रलेखकाः मङ्खाः— **माघविया** इति प्रसिद्धाः—
—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 5, p. 102.

मालक m. [1]a nest.

किं वा सबालकाः साण्डका वा काकादीनां **मालका** भूमौ पातिताः ?—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 4, p. 88. *cf.* Guj. माळो.

[2] a storey; an elevated seat.

मंचैः — **मालकैः** अतिमञ्चास्तु **मालकोपरिमालकास्तैः** सहितम्—

—*Ibid., Kṣana* 5, p. 101;

मंश्चा—मालकाः - - प्रेक्षणकजनोपवेशननिमित्तं—

– KD., p. 73;

मंचा **मालकाः** प्रेक्षणकद्रष्टृजनोपवेशननिमित्तं—

—KSV., p. 83. *cf.* Deśi माल; Guj., Mar. माळ.

मुत्कल adj. [1] lonely, solitary.

'तत्र' चतुःशालादिगृहमध्ये 'हिरण्यं' रूप्यम्...**मुत्कलं** शून्यं च दृष्ट्वा कश्चिद् निर्धर्मा व लोभादपहरेत...

—BKK., Vol. III, p. 744.

[2] free.

यद्यहं जितो भविष्यामि तर्हि स मोदको मया दातव्यो यः प्रतोलीद्वारेण न निर्गच्छति, एषोऽपि न याति तस्मादहं **मुत्कल** इति—

—NM , p. 150, l 8. *cf.* Guj. मोकळु, Hindī मोकला, Mar. मोकळा.

मुत्कलित adj. sent.

एवं निरुत्तरीकृत्य **मुत्कलिता** राजनियुक्ताः पुरुषाः, तैश्च राज्ञे निवेदितं—

—NM., p 147, l. 26,

श्रुत्वा चेदं प्रथमदर्शने मङ्गलवचस्तुतोष राजा, **मुत्कलितः** शेषो ग्रामलोकः—

—*Ibid*, p. 148, ll 13-14 *cf* Old Guj. मोकलामणी 'good-bye'; Guj. √मोकल 'to send'.

मूसा f a crucible.

मूसा—सुवर्णगालनमृन्मयपात्रम्—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 2, p. 50. *cf.* Skt. मुषा, मुषी, मूष, मूषा, मूषिका; Guj., Mar. मूस; Hindī मूषी.

मेण्ढक m. a ram, a sheep.

ततो भूयोऽपि राजा रोहकबुद्धिपरीक्षार्थं **मेण्ढकमेकं** प्रेषितवान्—

—NM., pp. 24, 146,

वृकं प्रत्यासन्नं धृत्वा **मेण्ढकमेनं** यवसदानेन पुष्टीकुरुत—

—*Ibid*, p. 147, l. 3. *cf.* Guj. मेंढो; Mar. मेंढा.

युगन्धरी f. a kind of grain, *Sorghum vulgare*.

KK., p. 74. *cf.* Deśī जुआरि, जोवारि; Guj. जुवार.

रखे ind. lest.

से जहेयं तुब्मे वयह...मा मे एए—(मा मे एए...)—मा इति निषेधे, लोके '**रखे**' इति —KS, pp. 164-65. *cf.* Guj. रखे, रखेने.

राउलिया[आ] m. pl. persons belonging to a particular class of bards or mendicants.

स्कन्धारोपितपुरुषाः मङ्गलपाठकाः लोके '**राउलिया**'—
—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 5, p. 115;
घंटया रवंतीति घंटिकाः, **राउलिआ** इति रूढाः।—
—KSV., p. 96;
(घंटियगणेहिं)—घण्टया चरन्तीति घाण्टिका '**राउलिआ**' इति लोके प्रसिद्धाः, एतेषां गणैः—
—KS., p. 282;
घण्टया चरन्तीति घाण्टिका **राउलिआ** इति रूढाः—
—KK., p. 97;
घण्टया चरन्तीति घण्टिकाः **राउलिआ** इति रूढाः—
—KD., p. 83. *cf.* Guj. रावळिया.

राजमुद्ग m. a kind of pulse, *Phaseolus aconitifolius*, known in Guj. as मठ. KK., p. 74.

राटि f. a quarrel, wrangling.

सन्ध्यागते नक्षत्रे शुभप्रयोजनेषु प्रारभ्यमाणेषु कलहो **राटि**र्भवति—
—VM., part II, p. 41. *cf.* Pkt. राडि; Guj., Mar. राड; Hindi राढ. *Vide* राटी.

राटी f. *same as* राटि.

तत्र कलहो-**राटी**—
—SA., *Adh.* 1, leaf 26. *cf.* Pkt. राडि; Guj., Mar. राड; Hindi राढ.

रालक m. a kind of pulse, chikling vetch, *Lathyrus sativus.*
—KK., p. 74. *cf.* Guj. लांग. *Vide* लांग.

रूत n. cotton.

तदेव **रूतं** पिञ्जनिकया पिञ्जितम्—
—BKK., Vol. III, p. 846. *cf* Deśī रूअ; Guj. रू; Hindi, Mar. रूई.

लंग m. *same as* रालक.

"त्रिपुडा" **लंग**वल्गा—
—NC., part II, p. 236. *cf.* Guj. लांग.

लञ्चा f. a bribe.

'उक्कोडाहि य'त्ति **लञ्चाभिः**...' उवीलेमाणे' अवपीलयन्—बाधयन्।—
—VA., leaf 39;

उत्कोटा-लञ्चा तया चरन्ति उत्कोटिकाः—
—RPM., *Sūtra* 1, leaf 2;
उक्कोडा उत्कोटा—लञ्चेत्यर्थः तया ये व्यवहरन्ति ते उत्कोटिकाः—
—JDA., p. 1.
[This word seems to be of Dravidian Origin. Śrī C. N. Joshi has shown (Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All India Oriental Conference, p. 949) the occurrence of the word in an Old Marāṭhī text like the *Jñāneśvarī* and that it is a loan-word from Kannaḍa.] *cf.* Guj. लांच.

लट्टाकाणा f. the safflower plant.
'कुसुंभ' त्ति लट्टाकाणाः यत्पुष्पैर्वस्त्रादिरागः समुत्पाद्यते—
-- JPS., *Vakṣaskār.* 2, leaf 124.

लद्दित adj. loaded, burdened.
यथा 'गौः' बलीवर्दो महता भारेण लद्दितो हलं वा वहमानः प्रतोदेनाऽतितोदितः सन् कूर्दयित्वा भारं पातयति, हलं वा भनक्ति—
--BKK., Vol. II, p. 381. *cf.* Guj. लदायेल.

लपनश्री f. a sweet dish made of wheat-flour and sugar or molasses.
उवस्सगस्स अंतो वगडाए...पूवे वा सक्कुली वा सिहरिणी वा उक्खित्ताणि वा विक्खित्ताणि वा...नो कप्पइ निग्गंथाण वा निग्गंथीण वा अहालंदम वि वत्थए—पूपो वा शष्कुलिका वा शिखरिणी वा...'पूपः' आर्द्रखाद्यकविशेषः, तद्ग्रहणेन लपनश्रीप्रभृतिकं सर्वमप्यार्द्रखाद्यकं गृहीतम्।...शष्कुलिकाग्रहणेन शष्कुलिका-मोदकादिकं सर्वमपि शुष्कखाद्यकं सूचितम्॥
—BK., *Udd.* 2, *Sūtra* 8, Vol. IV, pp. 969-970. *cf.* Deśī लप्पसिया; Guj. लापशी-सी. *Vide* लप्पसिया.

लवणोत्तारण n. popular custom of waving a quantity of salt and mustard seeds over the head of a person and bringing it down to the ground in order to remove the effects of evil sight, etc.
तत्रागमन-निर्गमनपथे चेटरूपाणि भवेयुः तेषां साधुमिरागच्छद्भिर्निर्गच्छद्भिश्च हस्तपादाद्याक्रमणं भवेत्। अथासौ कल्पस्थः साधुना केनापि 'अवधुतः' उल्लङ्घित इत्यर्थः, ततस्तदीया माता तस्याप्कायेनोत्स्पर्शनम् आदिग्रहणाद् लवणोत्तारणं वा कुर्यात्।
—BKK. Vol III, p. 741. *cf.* Guj. लूण उतारवु.

लाकुटिक m. a cudgel-holder.
लाकुटिकाः—डङ्गराः—
—BKK., Vol. IV, p. 1157. *cf.* Skt. लकुट 'a stick'.

लाहणक n. distribution of gifts.
सुवर्णरूप्यरञ्जितवस्त्रपरिधानदिने सोणिणिरुपिणिरंगिणिदेवताविशेषानाश्रित्य विशेषपूजा-लाहणकादिदानं च १४।

अक्षयतृतीयादिनेऽकर्त्तनं **लाहणकादि**दानं च ४८ ।
—SPR., p. 33. *cf.* Pkt. √लह् 'to get'; also Pkt. लाहण, Guj. लहाणुं, लहाणी and Hindī लहनी.

लिक्षा f. an egg of a louse, a nit.
यूका इति वा **लिक्षा** इति वा ?
—JM. *Pratipatti* 3, *Sūtra* 147, leaf 282. *cf.* Guj. लीख f.

√लुण्ट् to rob, to plunder.
ततस्तदनुसारेणान्य राजानं प्रवेश्य सा पल्ली समस्ता **लुण्टिता** दग्धा च—
—AS., p. 328, ll. 25-26. *cf.* Guj. लूंटवुं; Hindī लूटना.

लुम्बि f. a bunch of fruits.
रथिकस्य यत् सहकारफल**लुम्बि**त्रोटनं—
– NM., p. 162, l. 25. *cf.* Deśī लुंबी; Guj. लूंब f., लूम f.; Hindī लूम f.; Mar. लुंबी, लोंबी.

लोट्ट m. flour.
ववहारस्स य सेसो मीसो पव्वाय**रोट्टाई** ॥ ४४ ॥ —......' **लोट्टः**' घरट्टादिचूर्णः ।
—PNM., *Piṇḍanikṣepa*, *Vanaspati-khaṇḍa*, p. 19. *cf.* Guj. लोट.

√लोढ् to separate cotton seeds from cotton with iron tools (in a ginning factory).
'सेडुगो' नाम कर्पासः, स एव **लोढितः** सन् बीजरहितो रूतम् (३) ।—
—BKK., Vol. III, p. 846. *cf.* Deśī लोढ; Guj. लोढवुं.

वग्घारित adj. seasoned; in which a heated mixture of mustard, *asa foetida*, chillies and oil or ghee is thrown for relish.
'निस्तुप्पा' अचोप्पडा **अवग्घारिता वा** ॥
—BKK., Vol. II, p. 504. *cf.* Deśī वग्घारिअ; Guj. वघारियु; also Guj. √वघार, Hindī √बघार 'to season'; likewise Guj. वघारणी f. '*asa foetida*'. *Vide* वघार.

वघार m. seasoning, heating a mixture of mustard, *asa foetida*, chillies, oil or ghee and throwing it into food to give a relish to it.
धूमः—हिङ्ग्वादिसत्को **वघारः** —
—PNM., pp. 84, 94. *cf.* Guj वघार. *Vide* वग्घारित.

वधामण n. gifts given to the bearers of good tidings.
एवंविधान् (लंभे पडिच्छमाणे अ पडिच्छावेमाणे य) लाभान् '**वधामणा**' इति लोके प्रतीच्छन् स्वयं गृह्णन्, प्रतिग्राहयन् सेवकादिभिः —
—KS., p. 255. *cf.* Pkt. वद्धावण; Guj. वधामणां (n. pl.), वधाई. Hindī बधाई; Mar. वरधावा.

वरगडाजीव m. a wolf.

जलंतदिव्वदामं ईहामिग......—ईहामृगा वृका 'वरगडाजीव' इति लोके—
—KS., p. 147.

वरण्डक m. a verandah, an open portico or gallery along side of a house with roof supported on pillars.

अथ तत्र सागारिको भवति ततो वरण्डकाभ्यन्तरे प्रमार्जनं करोति—
—OND., *Bhāṣyagāthā* 262, leaf 174;
अत्र सपरिक्खेवे इति सपरिक्षेपवृत्तिवरण्डकादिसमन्विते अबाह्ये ग्रामस्य अत्यन्तमबहिर्भूते उपाश्रये इति गम्यते वत्थए इति वस्तुम्—
—VM., part II, p. 3. *cf.* Deśī वरडिया ; Guj. वरड—डो. *Vide* वरण्डिका.

[Dronācārya was a contemporary of King Bhīmadeva I of Gujarāta and lived in the 11th cent A.D., while Ācārya Malayagiri was a contemporary of King Kumārapāla of Gujarāta and flourished in the 12th cent. A.D. The fact that the vocables वरण्डक—वरण्डिका (the next entry) occur in their writings indicates that English *veranda*(h) and Portuguese *varanda* are loan-words from an Indian language.]

वरण्डिका f. a compound-wall.

वाटेषु पाटेषु वा वृत्तिवरण्डिकादिपरिक्षिप्तगृहसमूहात्मकेषु—
—US., p. 605. *cf.* Deśī वरड; Guj. वडी, वंडो, Mar. वडी. *Vide* वरण्डक.

वरत्रा f. a rope.

वरत्रा—चर्ममयी महारज्जुः—
—PVA., I. 3, leaf 57;
जल्लाश्च वरत्राखेलकाः—
—*Ibid.*, II. 4, leaf 137;
'जल्लाणं' ति जल्ला वरत्राखेलकास्तेषां, राजस्तोत्रपाठकानामित्यन्ये—
—AD., p. 46, l. 12. *cf.* Guj. वरत and Hindī बरत 'a leathern rope for a bucket'.

वल्लाः m. pl. a kind of pulse, *Dolichos lablab.*

निष्पावाः—वल्लाश्वणकाः प्रतीताः—
—BKK., Vol. II, p. 414. *cf.* Guj., Mar. वाल. *Vide* निष्पाव.

वाट m. a ward or area surrounded by a fence or a wall.

वाडेसु य रत्थासु य घरेसु वा एवमित्तिय खेत्तं—'वाडेसु' त्ति वाटेषु पाटेषु वा वृत्तिवरण्डिकादिपरिक्षिप्तगृहसमूहात्मकेषु, रथ्यासु सेरिकासु—
—US., *Adh.* 30, pp. 604-605. *cf.* Guj. वाडो. *Vide* पाट.

वाट(क) m. a hedge.

वाटेन-वाटकेन वृत्येत्यर्थः -
—PVA., I. 2, leaf 22. *cf.* Deśī वाडी, Guj. वाड f.

वाडु m. an escape, running away.
एत्थेव ता निरिक्खह दिट्ठे वाडुं समणो वा । —यदि भयेन वाडुं करोति, देशीवचनमेतत् नशनं करोति, नश्यतीत्यर्थः ।
—VM., part 3, p. 103. *cf.* Guj. वाडुं पाड्वुं.

वार्धटिका f. an earthen funnelled vessel used for keeping clarified butter especially when food is being served.
' करगगीवाइ व ' त्ति वार्धटिकाग्रीवा कुण्डिका-आलुका ' उच्चत्थवणएइ व'त्ति उच्चस्थापनकए एभिर्भिभिरुपमानैर्ग्रीवायाः कृशतोक्तेति—
—AA., *Sūtra* 3, leaf 5. *cf.* Guj. वाढी; also Mar. वाढणे ' to serve food'.

वालञ्जुक m. a merchant.
' वणिय 'त्ति वणिजो—वालञ्जुका विभातमितिकृता व्रजन्ति—
—OND., *Bhāṣyagāthā* 90, leaf 75. *cf.* Guj. वाणियो.

शष्कुलिका f. a (dry) sweet.
For quotation *vide* **लपनश्री**.
BK., II. 8, Vol. IV, pp. 969-970. *cf* Pkt. सक्कुली. [The word is prevalent in Old Guj. in the form साकुली ; *vide e g.*:
दुग्धवर्ण्ण दहीथरां, घृतवर्ण्ण घारी,
सुकुमाल **साकुली, सेव साकुली,** परीसणहारि नही आकुली...—
—*Varṇaka-samuccaya*, part I, p. 5, lines 14-15.] Also *cf.* mod. Guj. सांकळी.

शाटिका f. a sari, a kind of cloth worn by ladies.
ततो यदा भोजनाय समागता स्नानशाटिकां याचते ते कुमाराः शुष्कामपि **शाटीं** वदन्ति—
" अहो सीया **साडी** "—
—NM., p. 163, ll. 2-3. *cf.* Guj., Hindī, Mar. साडी. *Vide* **शाटी, साडी.**

शाटी f. *same as* शाटिका.
For quotation *vide* **शाटिका**.
—NM., p 163, ll. 2-3. *cf.* Guj., Hindī, Mar. साडी. *Vide* साडी.

शिक्कक n. a sling.
सिक्कगमठाणसठिया से नेत्ते —' **शिक्ककं** दध्यादिभाजनानां दोरकमयमाकाशेऽवलम्बनं लोकप्रसिद्धं तत्संस्थानसंस्थितम्—
—UDA., II. 18, leaves 20, 22. *cf.* Pkt. सिक्कग, सिक्कय, Guj. शीकु, शींकुं; Hindī सीका, छीका; Mar. शिके, शिंकें.

शिखरिणी f. a sweet dish prepared by mixing pieces or crush of bananas, melon and such other fruits with milk, sugar or molasses and spices.
For quotation *vide* लपनश्री. BK., II. 8, Vol. IV, pp. 969-970.
cf. Mar. शिखरणी, **शिखरण**, शिकरण, शिक्रण f. exactly in the same sense.

शिरोविण्टलिकाचीवर n. a sheet of cloth worn on the head, a kind of turban.

तद्ध्यानयने **शिरोविण्टलिकाचीवरे** आदीयमाने इव शिरो विधूयारकोटिता दधिघटिका—
—As., p. 125, ll 17-18.

सक्कुली f. *same as* पर्पटि.

'**सक्कुली**' पर्पटिः—
—NC., part III, *Bhāṣyagāthā* 2480, leaf 504. *cf.* Guj. सांकळी.

षष्टिक m. a kind of rice of quick growth, believed to take only sixty days to ripen.

—KK., p. 74. *cf.* Guj., Hindi, Mar. साठी.

सङ्कलक n. an anklet.

रत्नोरुजालं-रत्नमयं जङ्घयोः प्रलम्बमानं **सङ्कलकम्**—
—AuA., *Sūtra* 26, leaf 55. *cf.* Guj. साकळुं.

सवार n. ? morning.

सवारमेवमुत्थाय—
—BKK. [The exact reference is not at hand at present]
cf. Guj. सवार.

साडी f. *same as* शाटी.

For quotation *vide* शाटिका—
—NM., p. 163, ll. 2-3. *cf.* Guj. Hindi, Mar. साडी.

साथल m. ? a thigh.

जंघं निगूढजाणुं गयवरकरसरिसपीवरोरुं.........उरुशब्देन लोके '**साथल**' इत्युच्यते—
—KS., p. 122. *cf.* Skt. सक्थिक, Pkt. सत्थिअ, Guj. साथळ.

साबूक्षार m. saline earth or bdellium.

टङ्कणक्षारसाबूक्षारादेर्बहुबहुजीवविनाशनिमित्तत्वाच्च महानेव दोषः ।
—SPR., p. 122. *cf.* Guj. साबु[बू]खार.

सिङ्ग n. a bean.

तुच्छफलमर्द्धनिष्पन्नकोमलचवलकमुद्गसिङ्गादिकम्—
—SPR, p. 118. *cf.* Deśī सिंगा, Guj. सिंग, सींग, शिंग (f.); Mar. शेंग.

सीमाडा m. pl. neighbouring kings, lit.: 'kings ruling near the boundaries *i.e.* सीमा of one's kingdom'.

स्वदेशसमीपवर्तिनः राजानः '**सीमाडा** राजा' इति च वश्यम् आयत्तत्वम् आगताः ॥१२६॥
—KS., p. 261. [In Old Guj. **सीमाड**, **सीमाढ** and **सीमाल** are used in the sense of 'neighbouring kings'; *cf.* e. g. Old Guj. versified translation of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* by Bhālana, II. 80. Also *cf.* '**सीमाल**क्षितिपतिकालभुजगः' —*Karuṇāvajrāyudha-nāṭaka* by Bālacandra, verse 64.]

सीरामण n. break-fast.

नंदिवर्द्धनोक्तवर्षद्वयादिकवर्षान्ते सूर्योदयादारभ्य वरं शृणुत २ यो यन्मार्गयति तत्तस्य दीयते इति पटहोद्घोषणापूर्वकं प्रातराशं लोके **सीरामण**वेलां यावत् प्रतिदिनं अष्टलक्षाधिकामेकां कोटिं सुवर्णानां ददाति—

—KKS , *Kṣaṇa* 5, pp. 112-13. *cf.* Guj. शिरामण.

सुकुमारिका f. a kind of dry cake.

'तवएसु य' त्ति तवकानि-**सुकुमारिका**दितलनभाजनानि—

—VA., *Adh.* 3, leaf 58. *cf.* Guj. सुंवाळी exactly in this sense, which, as a feminine adjective, denotes the sense of 'gentle, tender'.

सेर m. a seer, a weight of 40 tolas.

आकण्ठजलभृतकुण्डपुरुषस्थापनेन द्रोणो द्वात्रिंशत्**सेर**मानं जलं निर्गच्छति तदा स पुरुषो मानोपेतः, तोलितश्च पुरुषो यदि अर्द्धभारः स्यात् तदा स उन्मानोपेतः, तत्र भारमानस्य बहुविधत्वात् यथासंभवं ज्ञेयम् , ६ सर्षपाः १ यवः, ३ यवाः १ गुन्जा, ३ गुन्जा १ वल्लः, १६ वल्लाः १ गद्याणः, १० गद्याणाः १ पलः, १५० गद्याणाः १ मणः, १० मणाः १ धटी, १० धटयः १ भारः—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 1, p. 19. *cf.* Guj शेर ; Hindī, Mar. सेर.

सेरिका f. a street.

'रथ्यासु' **सेरिकासु**—

—US., *Adh.* 30, p. 605. *cf* Deśī सेरी, Guj., Mar. शेरी. [In Guj. this word is commonly used in feminine, but occasionally it is found used also in masculine; *e.g.* 'पीपळानो शेर-सेर', a road in Pāṭana (north Guj.); also शेरडो-सेरडो 'a foot-path'.]

सोट्ट m. a stick.

सोट्टा नाम शुष्ककाष्ठानि तानि आदिशब्दाद् लेन्टुकादीनि च पूर्वलग्नानि पातयन्ति।

—BKK., Vol. IV, p. 979. *cf.* Guj. सोटो, सोटी ; Hindī सोटा ; Mar. सोट.

स्थुड n. *same as* थुड.

तस्याशोकवरपादपस्य यत् **स्थुडम्**—

—RPM., *Sūtra* 3, leaf 9. *cf.* Old Guj. थुड ; mod. Guj. थड.

हडक्कयित adj. affected with hydrophobia.

'एरंडइए साणे' त्ति **हडक्कयितः** श्वा तेन खादेत ।

—BKK., Vol. III, p. 829. *cf.* Guj. हडकायो, हाडकायेल.

हण्डिका f. an earthen pot.

ततो गोशालकसहितः स्वामी सुवर्णखलग्रामं गच्छन्नन्तराले गोपैर्महा**हण्डिकायां** परमान्नं पच्यमानं दृष्ट्वा - प्रभो! पायसं भुज्यते, गोशालेनेत्युक्ते सिद्धार्थेन च तद्भङ्गे प्रोक्ते गोपैः सुयत्नेन रक्षिताऽपि सा **हण्डिका** भग्ना, ततो भवितव्यता नान्यथा स्यादिति नियतिर्गोशालेनाङ्गीकृता—

—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 6, leaf 127. *cf.* Guj. हांडी, हांल्ली. [Here is found a significant reference to the origin of the Gośāla doctrine.] *Vide* हाण्डिका.

हथनालि f. a contrivance (sling?) for throwing lead-balls.
(खेवणि) — क्षिप्यन्ते सीसकगुटिका आभिरिति क्षेपिण्यो-हथनालिरिति लोके प्रसिद्धाः खड्गाः—
—JPS, *Vakṣaskāra* 3, leaf 206. *Vide* क्षेपिणी.

हलिका f. a type of insect.
हलिका गृहकोकिला ब्राह्मणी वा—
—KD, *Paryuṣaṇā samācārī*, p. 17. *Vide* गृहकोकिला, ब्राह्मणी.

हाडहडम् ind. immediately, hastily, hurriedly.
पच्छित्त **हाडहडं**—प्रायश्चित्त **हाडहडं** देशीपदमेतत् **तत्कालमित्यर्थः** दीयते—
—VM., part II, *Bhāṣyagāthā* 96, p. 30. *cf.* Guj. हाडहाड.

हाण्डिका f. *same as* हण्डिका.
ततो विकुर्वितकटकलोकाः प्रभोः पादयोर्मध्येऽग्निं प्रज्वाल्य **हाण्डिकां** संस्थाप्य पचन्ति १४॥
—KKS., *Kṣaṇa* 6, leaf 131. *cf.* Guj. हांडी, हांल्ली.

हेल्ल a vocative particle.
होला इति देसीभाषातः समवया आमन्त्र्यते यथा 'लायनं कोइ रे हेल्ल' त्ति—
—SKC., leaf 225. *Vide* होला.

हेवाक m. habit, practice.
आरभटवृत्तिलक्षण**हेवाको** वा सिंहः—
—SA., *Adh.* IV, *Udd.* 4, leaf 276;
यथा काचिद् वधूः स्वकुलगृहस्य-स्वकीयपितृगृहस्य-सम्बन्धी यः परिचयः रमणीयवस्तुदर्शन-**हेवाक**स्तेन अश्वरथान् आदिग्रहणेन हस्त्यादीन्, प्रेक्षमाणा सती 'वार्यते'...मा भूद् अस्या प्रसङ्गतः परपुरुषविषयोऽप्यवलोकन**हेवाक** इति॥—
—BKK., Vol. II, p. 389;
एवमपि यदि न तिष्ठति ततोऽतिष्ठन्ती गृहाद्निष्काश्यते, मा भूदपरासामपि गृहमहेला-नामस्याः प्रसङ्गजनित एवंविध एव कु**हेवाक** इति कृत्वा।
—*Ibid.*, p. 389. *cf.* Guj. हेवा.

होड m.? a wager, a bet.
'पणिएहि' ति पणितैः - व्यवहारै**र्होडा**दिभिरित्यर्थः—
—JDA., p 96. *cf.* Deśī हुड्ड, हुड्डा, होड्ड; Guj. Hindī होड.

होला a vocative particle.
होला इति देसीभाषातः समवया आमन्त्र्यते यथा 'लायनं कोइ रे हेल्ल' त्ति—
—SKC., leaf 225. *Vide* हेल्ल.

LOTHAL—A PLACE-NAME

By

R. N. MEHTA, Baroda

The present note intends to discuss the meaning of the term 'Lothal', which is a place-name, now very famous due to the archaeological activities carried out at this site.

It is very well-known that this site yielded Harappan remains and hence the name of this place is being explained as "The Mound of the Dead" from the first part of the name. This meaning is very convenient to an archaeologist in India as another site that of Mohenjo Daro has the same meaning. Thus similarity of excavated materials apparently led to the thinking of identity of meaning, but the word 'lothal' requires careful consideration for establishing the meaning.

As already noted above the meaning "Mound of the Dead" is derived from the name 'lothal'. This compound can be split up in its components 'lotha' and 'al'. Out of these components, the former term 'lotha' has one of its meaning 'dead body'. Taking this meaning of the first part of the term, the second part should give the meaning "Mound", but no amount of work gives this meaning. The words for mound in Gujarati are 'tekro', 'tīṁbo', 'dhaḍo', 'moro' etc. All these terms are absent in the word 'lothal', hence the meaning "Mound of the Dead" has no basis in the meaning of the term. So further efforts are necessary to establish the meaning of this place-name.

As already noted above, the first part of the word is the term 'lotha', and one of the colloquial meaning of it, is a 'corpse', but this seems to be a derivation as there are many other meanings. This term 'lotha' lothā, has the following meanings, according to the Gujarati dictionaries:

'A stud of Sorghum', 'to bite', 'to get tired', 'Useless thing', etc. and other derivations of the word 'lothadī' is 'plough share'. Out of these meanings, that giving that sense of tired requires further consideration. When an individual is extremely tired usually the expression "lotha thai javum" is used. Here the sense of being dead or death is never hinted, but the term for dead bodies is 'lotha paḍavī', that means a 'lotha' has fallen. Here the term is more allegorical rather than giving the certain meaning. The terms for dead body are 'Maḍadu' 'Śaba',' lāsa', usually for the human corpse whereas the term 'ḍhāḍhar' is used for a carcass. Here these terms are used in the sense of "Dead body" and they do not possess any other meaning.

Thus it is clear that the term 'lotha' for the 'dead body' is rather allegorical, but when referred to the derivation of this term it seems to refer to the Sanskrit root √ 'loṣṭ'. This root has the meaning 'to heap up' and hence the name 'loṣṭa' derived from this root is used to signify 'a clod of clay' or 'any heap'. This meaning is preserved in most of the terms used in Gujarati, the plough-share that breaks the earth into clods is lothaḍī, the dog-bite which takes out a lump of flesh is indicated by the term 'lotharū levū'. The term for tired also indicates that the individual is tired to such an extent that he has become a veritable heap. When a dead body lies like a heap, it is known as 'lotha paḍī' or 'lotha pāḍī'. Thus all these terms are derivations of the meaning of 'heap'.

Thus the meaning of the term 'lotha' seems to be a heap, which is surviving in the term lothal. The later part of this term 'al' could be explained in two different ways.

One of the meaning is the indicative of possessing the particular quality, and is very well-known in the words like "Dayāl", "Mayālu" or "Māyālu" etc. If this meaning be accepted, the term would indicate that the full meaning of lothal will be 'of the heap or mound'. In the other meaning of the term 'al' is taken to represent a shortened form of 'Palli', that is a village. This term comes as a latter part in many place-names in Gujarat. If this meaning is accepted the term would mean "A small village on a mound". The above discussion indicates that the term lothal is better explained either as "of the mound" or "A small village on the mound". This meaning has further support of the local topography. The area is the plain of 'Bhāl'. 'Bhāl' is used to denote a marshy land which has the capacity to retain moisture for a long time. In this flat, water ridden area a small mound would be a sufficiently important geographical feature to attract attention and give it an appropriate name, "lotha", and a flimsy habitation on it will be known as lothal.

This discussion, thus, clearly indicates that the lothal does not seem to mean "Mound of the Dead", but its meaning seems to be "A village on the Mound" or "of the Mound". Further investigation is, therefore, necessary before we accept the meaning the Mound of the Dead "for lothal".

IDENTIFICATION OF KING JAITUGI

By

V. V. MIRASHI, Nagpur

H. D. Sankalia and S. C. Upadhyaya have edited a stone inscription dated Śaka 1188, deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 127 f. The original findspot of the record is not known, but it must have been some place in the island of Bombay or its neighbourhood. The inscription is much abraded, but the editors have shown that its object was to record a gift of land to a Brāhmaṇa named Vāideva, a Jyotishī, during the reign of king Jaitugi, who is mentioned therein with the titles *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Rāyapitāmaha* and *Koṅkanachakravartī*. The date of the record is somewhat uncertain, but the editors have read it as Śaka-saṁvat 1188, the cyclic year Kshaya, Māgha vadi 15, Budha, which they have shown as regularly corresponding to Wednesday, the 26th January A.D. 1266.

Supposing the date to be read correctly, the question of the identification of this king Jaitugi arises. Three different views have been put forward in this connection—

(1) He was a king of the Śilāhāra dynasty. In support of this view it has been pointed out that the titles of Jaitugi are like those of the Śilāhāras. The Śilāhāra king Someśvara, whose stone inscriptions dated only six or seven years before (*i.e.* in Śaka 1181 and 1182) are also deposited in the same Museum, is described in them as *samasta-rāj-āvali-samalankṛta-Mahārājādhirāja-Koṅkaṇa-chakravartī*, which is identical with the description of Jaitugi in the present inscription, with the addition of *Rāya-pitāmaha*. [1a]

But as against this it is pointed out that Hemādri mentions Someśvara as the last king of Koṅkaṇa, who was drowned in a naval encounter with the Yādava king Mahādeva. Secondly, no name like Jaitugi is met with in the genealogy of any branch of the Śilāhāra family. Nor can we accept the suggestion of the editors that Jaitugi, perhaps a son or descendant of Someśvaradeva, may have reigned in Koṅkaṇ for a brief period during the closing years of Mahādeva's reign when there was confusion in the Yādava kingdom; [2] for there is no evidence of any such trouble during the reign of Mahādeva. We have inscriptions ranging in dates from Śaka 1187 to 1190 from such distant places as Kolhapur, [3]

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p 297 and pp. 280-81.

[1a] The *Viruda Rāyapitāmaha* was assumed by Anatadeva. See his Khārepatan plates, *Ind., Ant.* Vol IX, pp. 33 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 128.

[3] Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No. 366.

Chitaldurg District,[4] and Bijapur District,[5] which show that Mahādeva's authority was recognised in those parts of the country. Jaitugi does not therefore appear to be a king of the Śilāhāra family.

The second view is that Jaitugi was a governor of Koṅkaṇ, appointed by Mahādeva.[6] This view also is not likely to be correct. No governor would assume such imperial titles as *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Konkaṇa-chakravartī*. If he did so, he would receive short shrift.

The third view is that Jaitugi may have been a Yādava king; for the name occurs in the genealogy of the Yādavas.[7] This view also is unacceptable; for in the period to which the inscription refers itself, there was no Yādava king of this name, ruling in Mahārāshtra or Koṅkan. We know indeed that there was a Yādava king of that name, but he ruled more than sixty years before the date of the present inscription. He was a son of Bhillama and ruled from *circa* A.D. 1193 to A D. 1200. Another prince of that name, who was a son of Siṅghana, did not come to the throne as he predeceased his father. So Jaitugi mentioned in the present inscription is not a king of the Yādava dynasty.

Who was then this Jaitugi, ruling in Śaka 1188 with imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Koṅkanachakravartī* in the country of Koṅkana ? He was evidently a ruler of North Konkan; for no ruler of any other province assumed this title. I tentatively put forward the suggestion that he was a ruler of Māhim, one of the suburbs of Bombay. That there was a ruler of Māhima exercising his authority in North Konkan is known from the Purushottampuri plates, of the Yādava king Rāmachandra, which mention the latter's victory over him [8] He is described in the plates as the ruler of Māhima of great prowess. This shows that notwithstanding Mahādeva's victory over the Śilāhāra king Someśvara, Yādava authority had not spread over the whole Konkana territory. The king of Māhima had not submitted to the Yādavas and was ruling in defiance of them, assuming imperial titles. He may previously have been a feudatory of the Śilāhāras, but after their overthrow he seems to have declared his independence and assumed the same titles as the Śilāhāras. It seems that some of the officers of the Śilāhāras took service under this king Jaitugi of Māhima. Two of the Officers mentioned in the present inscription were previously serving the Śilāhāra king Someśvara. They are (1) *Mahāsāndhivigrahī* Māi-nāyaka, who is evidently identical with *Mahāsāndhivigrahī* Māi-nāku mentioned in the stone inscription of

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[4] *Ep. Carn*, Vol XI, p. 125.

[5] *A.R. A.S.I.* 1930-34, p. 209.

[6] *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. V, p 193.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p 129.

पृथुतरमहिमा माहिमेन्द्रः परास्तः ।

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, p 211.

Someśvara, dated Śaka 1182[9] and (2) Śrīkaraṇi Chandaprabhu, who is probably not different from Śrikaraṇi Chandaprabhu mentioned in another stone inscription of the same Śilāhāra king, dated Śaka 1181.[10] That the preamble of the present inscription should be the same as that of Someśvara's inscription, dated Śaka 1181, is also not surprising; for both the records were probably drafted by the same officer or clerk who was previously serving Someśvara and who after his overthrow, took service under king Jaitugi of Māhima. Kingdoms may rise and fall, but the secretariat continues to be the same. We have analogous instances in other records of the ancient period. After the Chandella king Trailokyamalla overthrew the Kalachuri king Vijayasiṁha, he issued the Dhureti plates.[11] The Chandellas use the Vikrama era in dating their records, but this grant made by Trailokyamalla is dated in the Kalachuri era. It was evidently drafted by some officer or clerk in the secretariat of the former Kalachuri king Vijayasiṁha. He has not only used the Kalachuri era with which he was familiar, but has also used some epithets in describing the Chandella king which were previously applied to the Kalachuris of Tripurī *viz. Vāmadeva-pād-ānudhyāta*[12] and *Aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-trayādhipati* (*i.e.* the Overlord of the three Rājas, *viz.* those of horses, elephants and men)[13] Another instance of the same type occurs in the records of the princes of Karkareḍī. These princes were previously feudatories of the Kalachuri Emperors of Tripurī. In describing them they used the epithets *Trikaliṅgādhipati* and *Vāmadeva-pād-ānudhyāta* which are usually met with in the records of the Kalachuris. When Trailokyavarman overthrew the Kalachuris of Tripurī, the rulers of Karkareḍī transferred their allegiance the Chandellas. Notwithstanding this, when Kumārapālavarman of Karkareḍī issued his Rewa plates in which he had to describe his Chandella suzerain, the drafter of the grant used the epithets *Trikaliṅgādhipati* and *Vāmadeva-pād-ānudhyata* in describing the Chandella Emperor.[14] In the present case also the drafter of the inscription of king Jaitugi of Māhima has used the same formula in describing his master which he was accustomed to use in drafting the records of Śilāhāras of North Koṅkaṇa.[15]

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[9] *Ibid*, Vol. XXVI, p. 129 and Vol. XXIII, p 280.

[10] *Ibid.*, Vol XXVI, p 129 and Vol, XXIII, p. 279.

[11] *C I I.*, Vol IV, 369 f.

[12] *Ibid*, p. 371. For the meaning and significance of this, see *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, p. 39 f.

[13] *C.I.I*, Vol IV, p. 371. See also *ibid.*, pp. c f.

[14] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 230 f.

[15] Compare समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराजरायपितामह कोकणचक्रवर्तिश्रीजैतुगि-देवकल्याणविजयराज्ये inscription of Jaitugi (*Ep. End.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 129 with समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृतमहाराजाधिराज कोंकणचक्रवर्तिश्रीमत्सोमेश्वरदेवरायकल्याणविजयराज्ये in the inscription of Somesvara, dated Śaka 1181 (*ibid*, Vol. XXIII, p. 279).

So king Jaitugi of the stone inscription dated Śaka 1188 was in all probability the ruler of Māhima. We have unfortunately no information about the ruling family of Māhima. There is indeed a chronicle called *Mahikavatīchī* (or *Māhimachī*) *Bakhara*, but it is useless for historical purposes; for not a single incident mentioned in it can be corroborated by any other evidence.[16]

[16] See Prof. A. D'Costa'a article 'Historical Value of Indian Traditions' in the *Nibandhasaṅgraha*, Bombay Itihasa Samshodhan Mandal Series, No. 9, pp. 48 f.

Figure 1
Ṛṣabhanātha Simandharaswāmi Temple, Ahmedabad.
Dated V S. 943
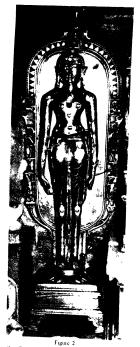
Figure 2
Another Ṛṣabhanātha from same Temple, Ahmedabad
Dated V S. 943

TWO JAINA BRONZES FROM AHMEDABAD

By
UMAKANT P. SHAH, Baroda

Figures 1 and 2 illustrate two Jaina bronzes, now in worship in the Sīmandhara-svāmī temple, Doshivāḍānī poḷ at Ahmedabad. The two bronzes are noteworthy both for their age as well as for their style.

The two bronzes are placed on two sides of central stone sculpture of Pārśvanātha. Both can be identified as representing the first Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha (also called Ādinātha), on account of the hair-locks falling on shoulders. Each bronze is about 3 ft. in height, placed on a pedestal. The Jina in each case is standing on a full-blown inverted lotus and has behind him a big oblong halo reaching below his ankles, where it terminates into a rectangular metal plate inserted into the pedestal. The halo in each case has a cut border on top below which are two *makara mukhas*, rampant mythical-lions (vyālas) and at the lower end of the haloes, two attendant *cāmaradhara yakṣas.*

Figures of the Tīrthaṅkaras show long slim legs covered by a lower garment and a *paryasatka* with typical folds, characteristic of some early bronzes and sculptures from Gujarat and Rajasthan, *e.g.* cf., the two standing Jina figures cast by Śivanāga and obtained from the Vasantagaḍh hoard,[1] dating from 687 A.D.

There are inscriptions on the pedestals of both these bronzes from Ahmedabad, which give a date, Saṁvat 943=886 A.D. Most of the inscriptions are defaced and illegible on account of constant washing and cleaning during worship. But the saṁvat year is quite clear and verified by us.

The haloes do not seem to be of the same age as the inscriptions as can be seen from the modelling of the figures of the attendant *cāmaradharas* which seem to date from circa eleventh or twelfth century A.D. The shape of the haloes is peculiar and hardly found in Western Indian bronzes. Obviously, these haloes were recast after the model of some earlier haloes which might have been mutilated.

Also peculiar is the modelling of typically slim long legs and torso of Fig. 1 and of the legs of Fig. 2. The somewhat stunted torso of Fig. 2 is of course not without its parallels in W. India. Figures with such long slim legs are very uncommon in Western India. One example at least is known of a Sūrya image of about tenth century A.D. in a small shrine near Cambay—Nagarā. This could be due to outside influence in Gujarat.

[1] Shah, U. P., Bronze Hoard From Vasantagaḍh, Lalitakalā, No 1.

The two bronzes are of course interesting early specimens of the ninth century A.D. and it would be better if estampages of the partly legible inscriptions are taken before they are totally rubbed off in course of time.

Jaina shrines in Ahmedabad have preserved some important specimens of bronze art, one of which, representing a big standing figure of Ajitanātha, dated in V.S. 1110=1053 A.D. was published long ago by N. C. Mehta and reproduced again by U. P. Shah (in his Akota Bronzes, Fig. 73A).

A systematic survey of inscribed and dated Jaina bronzes like these, still in worship in Jaina shrines, is long due. Often these inscriptions give valuable information regarding the original place where they were (cast and) installed, the artist who cast them as well as names of well-known donors and Jaina monks. Two big standing Jaina bronzes in a shrine at Achalagaḍh originally came from Sācor in Mārwād as can be inferred from the inscriptions on their pedestals.[2]

[2] Muni Jayantavijaya, Śrī Arbuda-Pracīna-Jaina-Lekhasandoha, Inscriptions nos. 465-466.

A 'N-NŪRU' S-SĀFIR AS A SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF GUJARAT

By

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The Arabic-speaking people had developed a taste for historical writings from early times and for this reason, their literature is replete with works dealing with history, travels, biographical notices, etc. Being one of the widely travelled people and also curious by nature, these people had a thirst for knowing things. Their writings, therefore, contain a mine of information on varied subjects dealing with different countries then known to them among which India, on account of its close relations, occupies a prominent place. Of such works, those dealing with biographies of learned people arranged chronologically, alphabetically, subject-wise or in various other ways are extremely useful to students of history. For they not only give biographical data about their subject, but also provide ample material for the political as well cultural history in its varied aspects and, above all, throw a good deal of light between the relations of India, particularly some of its regions like Gujarat and Deccan with the countries of the Middle-East.

A section of this biographical literature is one, wherein notices of important people and events are given in chronological sequence, that is to say, year-wise or in alphabetical order. There are a large number of books which come under this section but we may mention here only to few which are of interest in view of the information they give regarding India. Of these, there are *Inbāu' l-Ghūmr fī Abnāi' l-Ūmr* and *A' d-Durani' l-Kāmina fī ay'āni' l-Miyati' th-Thāmina* dealing with eminent persons who died in the eighth century Hijra corresponding to fourteenth century A.D., by the famous author and scholar of his time, Ibn-i-Ḥajar al-' Asqalānī. The first is arranged chronologically and the other alphabetically. The next in the series is *A'd-Ḍau'l-Lāmi' li ahli'l-Qarni'l-Tāsi'* by Ḥāfiz Shamsu'd-Līn Muḥammad Sakhāwī dealing in alphabetical order with the eminent personalities of the nineth century Hijra corresponding to the fifteenth century Hijra or the sixteenth century A.D. have been dealt with chronologically in the *A'n-Nūru's -Sāfir 'an Akhbāri'l-Qarni'l-'Ashir* of 'Abdu'l-Qādir al-'Aidarūs who wrote it in Ahmedabad itself. Likewise there are works dealing with these or subsequent centuries but space does not permit us to go into the details thereof at present.

The author of *A'n-Nūru's-Sāfir*, Shaikh Abū Bakr Muḥyiud-Dīn 'Abdu'l-

Qādir al- 'Aidarūs of Ahmedabad belonged to a prominent learned family of Yaman. His father Shaikh a'l-'Aidarūs had come to India in 1551 A.D. to finally settle down, first at Broach and subsequently at Ahmedabad where his tomb may still be seen on the Relief road a little further than the Krishna Cinema. 'Abdul Qādir, himself a saintly and much respected person, was born at Ahmedabad in 1570 and had received instruction in religious, sufistic and like sciences from a host of eminent teachers both Indian and foreign. He was a prolific writer having to his credit a score of works in Arabic dealing with various branches of Islamic sciences like Quranic studies, Mysticism, Dogma and Scholastic theology, History and Biography, pure literature etc.

But to us of immediate and at the same time immense interest is his above-mentioned work on Biography and Chronology, *A'n-Nūru s-Sāfir 'an Akhbāri'l-Quarni'l-'Āshir* dealing in chronological order with the biographical notices of men who had distinguished themselves as men of letters and learning, with political and social events and with some natural phenomena and curious happenings that lived or took place in the tenth century Hijra or sixteenth century A.D in Islamic countries particularly in southern Arabia and India. The information covered by the book relates to the initial year 1495 and ends with 1591 A.D – a complete century of lunar era. It is not intended nor is it possible in this short paper to describe the absorbing and varied information contained in the book, which describes events of different nature. On one hand it gives brief biographical accounts of learned men, saints, kings and grandees, while on the other, which is more interesting and somewhat unusual, with events of natural occurrence like the shooting stars, appearance of Comets draughts, floods, appearance of locusts etc. Here we shall not concern ourselves to the events that occurred elsewhere in India or other countries but to those that happened in Gujarat. Part of the information regarding political affairs is to be found in other works dealing with pure history like the Mir'āt-i-Sikandarī and Hajjī Dabīr's Arabic History of Gujarat, but the author gives some further information particularly the exact dates and some matters of details which are not found elsewhere.

Among the events recording the demise of eminent learned men and grandees of Gujarat, the first is one that speaks of the death on the 20 Ramadān A.H. 916 (A.D. 1510, December, 21) of Sultan Mahmūd I. Other historians give the year A.H. 917. In his account, we get the interesting information copied from an Arabic writer Ibn Fahd that Mahmūd I has caused to be constructed at Mecca, near the Bābu' l-Madīna (Madina Gate), a *Rabāt* or a madrasa-cum guest-house which was called *Al-Kambāitiyya* after Cambay. Lessons were imparted there and teachers and other attendants appointed to run the institution. The Sultan also used to send large amounts in charity with pilgrims that went

to Mecca but discontinued it on being informed that the persons incharge at Mecca misappropriated the money. About three years later, died an eminent theologian and jurist, Muḥammad al-Misrī, generally known as Ibn Suwaid. His profound knowledge of religious lore, particularly the Traditions earned him the title of *Maliku' l-Muḥaddithīn* or Prince among the Traditionists, the first of its type to be conferred in Gujarat, from Mahmūd I. The savant enjoyed so much favours from the Sulṭān that even the grandees of the capital respected him and his house became the haunt of persons in need. He also used to send presents to deserving people in Mecca and Madina. Ibn Suwaid was likewise respected by Mahmūd's successor, Muẓaffar Shāh II who, afterwards, at the instigation of a certain minister curtailed certain stipends. He had a daughter in Cairo but he had adopted a son in Ahmedabad, after the fashion of the people in India and his property was inherited by him. Then there was another scholar of international reputation Jamālu'd-Dīn Muhammad known as Bahraq who was well versed in grammer, literature, philology, etc. He was the author of a number of books on these arts as well as on tradition, mysticism, arithmetic, medicine, astronomy etc , and wielded a facile pen both in prose and verse. He came to Gujarat in the time of Muzaffar II who became an ardent admirer of his and accorded him great respect. In his account, the author relates a curious story of how a magician who contrived to sit in air in the assembly of a minister was brought down on earth by Baḥraq through his spiritual powers The author also tells a story of how a minister who did not like the scholar and insulted him had to suffer consequences of the scholar's prayers against him and had again to approach Bahraq. This great scholar died on the 20th Shaban A.H. 930 (A.D. 1524, June, 23). In the account of Muzaffar Shāh who died in A.H. 932, (A D. 1525-26) the author gives the interesting information that the Sultan was not only a just ruler but was a talented and accomplished person fond of learned men. He was a good calligraphist and used to transcribe copies of the Qur'ān of which one he had sent to Madina. Death came to him while he was performing his prayers. The year A.H. 938 (A.D. 1531-32) witnessed the arrival of the two guns *Lailā* and *Majnūn* which were brought by Musṭafā Bahrām who, under the title Rūmī Khān figured prominently in the history of Gujarat and later earned disgrace for his complicity in the defeat of the Gujarat Sultan Bahādur Shāh at the hands of the Mughal emperor Humāyūn. Incidently, the books contains useful information about the efforts made by the Sultāns of Turkey to curb the growing power of the Portuguese in the middle east and to prevent them from consolidating their strong hold in the ports in the middle-east as well as in India. It may be recalled here that there is still to be seen at Junagadh a beautiful cannon which was according to its inscription, cast in A.H. 937 in Egypt under the orders of the Turkish

Sulṭān, specifically to fight the menance of the Portuguese threatening to enter India.

In the year A.H. 941 (A.D. 1534-35) took place the death of Mullā 'Imād Tārimī who had come from Persia. His father was a merchant who had come to Gujarat in connexion with trade and was greatly impressed by the miraculous powers described in detail by the author, of the famous saint Shāh 'Ālam. Mullā 'Imād arrived at Ahmedabad only after the death of the saint to meet whom he had undertaken the journey. He was particularly well-versed in intellectual sciences and among his pupils were Shāh wajīhu' d-Dīn and Qādī 'Īsā both of Ahmedabad who in their turn were great savants and much sought out teachers. The next year i.e. A.H. 941 (A.D. 1534-35) saw Bahādur Shāh's defeat by Humāyūn and our author also attributes the defeat to the treachery of Rūmī Khān. The author gives the exact date namely, the 30 Ramaḍān of A. H. 943 (A. D. 1537, March, 12) on which Bahādur Shāh was killed at the port of Diu by the Portuguese In the account of the death of a great scholar Ḥafiz Abū Muḥammad 'Abdu' r-Rahmān a'sh-Shaibānī which took place in A. H. 944, (A. D. 1537-38) we are told that his father had left zabīd in south Arabia in A. H 866 (A D 1461-62) and was not heard of for some time he ultimately died at Diu in A. H. 876 (A. D. 1471-72) and the scholar received eight *dīnārs* as inheritence. In the year A. H 951 (A D. 1544-45) at Ahmedabad died Shihābu'd-Dīn Ahmad al-Ḥalabī who was originally a merchant but ultimately gave up his business and took to scholarly pursuits, and came to Ahmedabad. For the death of Sher Shāh, the Sūr king, who died in A H 951 (A. D. 1944-45), the author quotes a chronogram in Arabic On the 24th Rabī' II of A. H 953 (A.D. 1546, June, 24) was killed Khwāja Safar Salmānī, entitled Khudāwand Khān, a noble of Gujarat renowned for his bravery munificence and benevolence alike. The next event relating to Gujarat described by the author pertains to year A H 955 (A.D. 1548-49) in which the great minister Āṣaf Khān who had taken the inmates of the Royal harem and the royal belongings to Mecca when Sultān Bahādur was overpowered by Humāyūn returned to India. Āṣaf Khān had stayed in Mecca for ten years and after his return, again acted as minister to Maḥūd III until he was martyred on the night of 13th Rabī'I A. H. 961 (A.D. 1554 Februry, 16). The author gives some interesting information about the minister's career, particularly during his stay at Mecca. His munificence and lavish gifts to the people of Mecca-so much so that they could even clad their servants in costly textiles-recalled to the mind of the author's informant, the days of the proverbial munificence of the Abbasid caliphs and family of Barmak. He is stated to have spent about one hundred and fifty chests of gold during his de-

cade's stay at Mecca. Sulṭān Maḥmūd III was also killed on the same night and according to the author, during his time, Diu finally passed into Portuguese possession. In the same year, four other rulers passed away: Salīm Shāh of Delhi, Burhān Niẓām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, Bāyzīd of Turkey and Sultān of Mecca. In the following year—A.H. 962 (A.D. 1554-55) died Humāyūn after a fall and the author quotes the famous Persian Chronogram for the death. In the year A.H. 963 (A.D. 1555-56) Yāqūt Sulṭānī entitled Ulugh Khān returned to Surat from Viramgam in a wounded state and died subsequently. In the same year, we are told eminent Arabic scholars and poets like Shaikh Abu's-Sa'ādāt, Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Mu'ṭī Bākathīr Khaṭīb Abu's-Sa'ādāt and 'Abdllāh 'Irāqī migrated from Ahmedabad to Surat with their families and settled there. On the 27th Ramadān A H. 966 (A.D. 1559, July, 3) Malik 'Imādu'l-Mulk of Broach was killed alongwith some of his retinue including Mustafa Qirmānī entitled 'Aidal Khān by the Surat governor Rajab Khudāwand Khān, son of Khwāja Safar and in the following year when Aḥmad Shāh III was also killed, Chingīz Khān attacked Surat to revenge his father's death. In his first attack, he burnt the city wall, devastated the city and impoverished and imprisoned its inhabitants but returned after Rajab had offered peace. Again in the next year Chingiz Khān invaded Surat, demolished a portion of the *Kot*—this local word is used by the author—, harassed the residents of Surat and Rander particularly the merchants before he returned to Broach in Ramadān of the said year. We are also told how Rajab in the meantime contrived to escape from the fort and went to the Portuguese territories—evidently Daman, but ultimately reaching, on the 20 Sh'bān, Ahmadabad where about four months later, on the last day of Dhu'l-Qa'da, he was killed by Bijlī Khan, Āghā Khudāwand Khan as one of the best nobles who was endowed with physical beauty as well as fine personal qualities. He was endowed with a generous disposition, was humble in behavious and evinced keen interest in the promotion of learning and patronage of learned men so much so that Surat in his time became the seat of learned men and scholars, traders and merchants, brave men and the like. Its prosperity and trade attracted a variety of commodities of merchandise which were exported in ships to countries like Egypt. People at large lived in peace and security. Any stranger who visited Surat would receive from him suitable allowance and the same was the case with outgoing people. But Rajab's last days were marred by melancholia which was the result probably, of his addiction to intoxicating drug—Ḥashīsh, which ultimately caused his downfall.

In the year A H. 971 (A.D. 1563-64), the author's father, Shaikh al-'Aidarūs, himself a reputed saint constructed a mosque at Surat two years later,

a ship of the minister Muḥammad Ulugh Khān left for Mecca. It was named by a renowned Ship-master Hasan 'Alawān but sank on the way. Among those drowned were the famous jurists Muḥammad bin Aflsh al-Makkī who was also a poet, and Muḥammad a'z-zaibadī. In Rajab A H. 974 (A.D. 1567 January-February), the recitation of the *Sahihu'l-Bukhārī* a compedium of the sayings of Prophet Muḥammad was completed in the presence of the said Ulugh Khān by Qāḍī Jamālu'd-Dīn al-Mahāimī and the occasion was celebrated by a grand feast given by the minister. In the same year, the author's father left Broach to finally settle down at Ahmedabad where he was accorded a warm reception by the elite including ministers. In the account of the year A.H. 976 (A.D. 1568-69), the author refers to the great minister Mīrzā Shamsu'd-Dīn who was in charge of Ahmedabad for some time but in the end fell victim to tyranny. The account of the year A.H. 978 (A.D. 1570-71) in which the author was born cotains his autobiography and a list of the works composed by him till the date of writing of this particular work in A H. 1012 (A.D. 1603-04). In the next year, the author's father built a house at Ahmedabad while referring to Akbar's conquest of Gujarat in A.H. 980 (A.D. 1572-73), the author gives a brief account of his career and a chronogram for the date of his death. In the same year, the recitation of the *Ihyā li 'Ulumi'd-Dīn* of Imām Ghazzālī was completed at the house of author's father. In the year that followed, a ship of the author's father which was named *al-'Aidarūsī* was lost while on its way from Shihr, a port in South Arabia to Diu and all the persons belonging to noble families travelling by it drowned. The same year witnessed Akbar's quick march to Gujarat to set right the disturbances that had taken place there. In the year A.H. 984 (A.D. 1576-77), died a great scholar Shaikh Jamālu'd-Dīn Muhammad 'Amūdī at Ahmedabad on the 30 Shawwāl. In the same year, Sidī Sa'īd Saltānī the Abyssinian, the builder of the world famous mosque at Ahmedabad passed away The author gives some interesting information about him which is not to be found elsewhere. He was a profoundly learned man in theology and other branches of knowledge and knew the whole Qur'ān by heart. He used to finish Qur'ān five times in his Ramaḍān prayers. He was held in great respect by the Abyssinian nobles. His love for men of letters as well as his quest for learning was great. When he went for pilgrimage to Mecca, he attended the lectures of the celebrated master Shaikh Ibn Ḥajar al-Haitamī. He was a great collector of books which were obtained even from far off countries like Egypt. The author also supplies the interesting information that when he died he was first buried in the compound of his mosque, but was later on buried by the sides of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Mu'tī Bākathīr. In the next year, i.e. A.H, 985

(A.D. 1577-78), the *Sahīh Bukhārī* was completed at the house of the author's father. In the events of the year 986 (A.D. 1578-79), the author mentions the demise and gives particulars of the life of another traditionist and reformer of Gujarat of international repute, Shaikh Muhammad Tāhir of Patan in north Gujarat. In the year A.H. 987 (A.D. 1579-80 died Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn 'Alī al-Yafi'ī, a scholar who was highly respected by Muhammad Ulugh Khān. Among the events of the year A H. 988 (A.D. 1580-81), the author mentions the death of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur at the hands of one of his slaves and the learning of the Qur'ān by heart by Rāja 'Alī Khān Fāruqī, king of Khandesh, in old age. The year A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581-82) saw the passing away of Shaikh 'Abdu'l-Mu'tī Fākathir, originally from Mecca, at Ahmedabad at the age of 84. He was a great poet and writer. The author in addition to a large number of his verses composed on various occasions, has also quoted a fragment giving the date of occupation of Ahmedabad by Chingiz Khān in A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68). In the same passage the author digresses to refer to the city of Ahmedabad and its Sultans. It is also interesting to note that our author calls the last Gujarat Sultan Muzaffar III a son of Mahmūd III. In the A H. 989 (A.D. 1581-82) Qutb Shāh of Golconda died. In the same year Shaikh Muhammad al-'Aidarūs an uncle of our author came to India. On the 25th Ramadān of A H. 990 (A D. 1582, October 13), the author's father expired at Ahmedabad and was buried in the courtyard of his house. The author has given an account of his career including his literary activities. In the same year died the celebrated Sadru s-Sūdūr of emperor Akbar's court, Shaikh 'Abdu'n-Nabi, who according to our author, was strangled to death in prison at the instigation of the emperor, after the latter had failed to get him disposed off by murder and poison. This piece of information regarding the manner of the Shaikh's death is not to be found in other works and is extremely important. In the same year died Shaikh Qutbu'd-Dīn, originally from Patan, at Mecca. He was a great writer. In Sha'bān A.H. 991 (A.D. 1583, August/September) Muzaffar III retook Gujarat and reigned for about six months. In A.H. 992 (A.D. 1484), died Shaikh Shihābu'd-Dīn Ahmad al-'Abbāsī al-Misrī at Ahmedabad at the age of 90. He was a great scholar well-versed in arithmetic, astronomy etc. Another scholar and a prolific writer to die in the same year was Abu's-Sa'ādāt al-Fākīhī originally from Mecca. He came to Gujarat twice, second time in A.H. 960 (A.D. 1553) and finally settled there. About his generosity, it is said that there was not a single person coming from Arabia who was not helped by him. In the very year passed away Hakīm Shihābu'd-Dīn Mahmud a's-Sindī who was a

great physician of his time. The author has related a curious story illustrating the extraordinary powers of the physician. It is said that Sulṭān Maḥmud III received from a king some valuable presents which included a beautiful slave-girl whom the king gave away to a minister. But before the minister could have anything with her, the physician happened to feel the pulse of the girl and said that whoever touched her would die. The physician's diagnosis was put to test and to the bewilderment of everybody, it proved to be correct. The physician then explained that her mother in her pregnancy was fed on poisonous herbs and this girl was sent to the Sultan to ensure his death by these means The author then refers to the prevailing Indian custom of sending such girls to kings whose deaths were desired by the sender and explains the way in which they were gradually fed on poison. While relating the demise of a Meccan scholar in A.H. 993 (A.D. 1484 85) the author mentions his pupil Shaikh Aḥmad al-Buskarī as having been the author, among the other works, of a treatise on Coffee. This writer died at Ahmedabad in A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600-01). On the 5th Muḥarram of the same year A.H 993 (A.D. 1481, December, 28), Muhammad Ulugh Khan died in Bengal. He had succeeded his father Yaqūt Ulugh Khān in the title and ministership of Gujarat on the latter's death and went to Agra after Akbar's conquest of Gujarat. He was first posted at Gwalior, then in Bihar and was one of the nobles who were assigned to Bengal. The author also refers to the despatch of a force by Akbar to help Burhān Nizam Shāh of Ahmadnagar in A.H. 994 (A.H. 1585-86) and its failure. While mentioning the death in A.H 996 (A.D. 1587-88) of Muhammad a's-Samarqandi at Medina, the author says that he knew besides Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Abyssinian languages, an Indian language. The author also describes in the events of this year, the deposition of Murtaḍā Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar on 16th Rajab and his death three days later, accession of his son Husain who was killed by the Khurasanī faction after sixteen months, coming to throne of Ismā'īl, son of Burhan, who ruled for two years and two months and Burhān's again coming to the throne on the 4th Rabī' II A.H. 997 (A.D. 1589, February 10) the author left Ahmadabad for Broach where he stayed for fourteen months after which he went to Surat on the 30 Rajab A.H. 998 (A.D. 1590, May, 25). On the 18th Jumāda I of the same year the construction of the tomb of his father was started. In the Rajab of the same year, the author completed one of his books details of which are given. The year A.H. 998 (A.D. 1589-90) witnessed the demise of author very learned man of Gujarat, Shāh Wajihu'd-Dīn al-'Alawī. In that very year was born a son to the author who was named Shaikh after his grand father's name. In the year A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590-91), was completed the building of the tomb of his father. The author left Surat on the 20 Ṣafar A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590, Decamber, 8), and

went to Cheul now in Kolaba district and after staying there for five months went to Ahmadnagar where he arrived in Sha' bān of the same year. Having stayed there for about fifteen months, he returned via Cheul, Diu and Morbi to Ahmadabad on the 4th Rabī'II A H. 1001 (A D. 1592, December 29), after an absence of full four years. Among the happenings at Ahmadnagar, the author refers to the decline of the Mahdawīs there after the murder of their leader Jamāl Khān, the minister, on the 14th Rajab A.H. 999 (A.D. 1591, April, 28), and the re-instation of Burhān Nizām Shāh who died on the 3rd Sha' bān A H. 1003 (A.D. 1595, April, 3). It was in A H 1001 (A.D 1592-93) that Burhān sent a force to West Danda Rajpuri from the foreigners, presumably the Portuguese but did not succeed in his object. Burhān Nizām Shāh is also reported to have ordered the demolition of the city of Ahmadnagar and consturction of a garden in the year when he died. In the year A H. 999 (A D. 1590-91), Sayyid Abdur-Raḥīm al-Ḥasānī, Muhammad Bā Sharaḥīl of Ḥadr Maut and Yahyā al-Madanī died at Golconda. Of these the last mentioned was well known for his profound knowledge of music. In the year A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92) died Shaikh Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥashībarī, a much respect saint, at Ahmedabad.

The above is a brief resume of the information contained in the *A'n-Nūru's-Sāfir* about the learned men, kings, grandees and political events. Apart from these, the author has put on record quite a few occurrences of nature but these mostly relate to Aden, Zabid etc. in Southern Arabia. A few occurrences of this type in Gujarat, noted by the author which will be of some interest may be referred to here. In the year A.H. 901 (A.D. 1495-96), there arose a severe storm in the Indian Ocean—Arabian Sea which sank ten vessels loaded with commodities in the port of Diu while four vessels had to jettison more than half of their loads. In A.H. 905 (A.D. 1499-1500) a huge halo appeared round the sun in the afternoon of a particular day. The same year also witnessed a huge shoting star which shot off from east to west illuminating the whole world. In A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567-68), a ship carrying ten Bā 'Alawī Sayyids from Southern Arabia to Gujarat sank in the Gulf of Cambay, drowning all the passengers. In A.H. 978 (A.D. 1570-71), a certain tank at Ahmedabad overflowed and its water came out leaving it completely dry. In the same year, blood was seen in author's tank at Ahmedabad. In the year A.H. 981 (A D 1573-74) Ahmedabad witnessed a severe gale and dust storm which darkened the atmosphere It was followed by lightening and thunder but little rain. In A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582-83) locusts appeared in Gujarat. One Shāh Fadlullāh composed a chronogram fort it in the words *Muntashar* meaning scattered. In this connexion the author relates a curious story that in about those years a certain saint from Balkh came to

Gujarat with the intention of proceeding to Mecca for pilgrimage. He was accompanied by a large number of disciples, which caught the imagination of a certain witty writer who framed the phrase *'Jā a'l-Malakh 'min Balkh* (*i.e.* A herd of locusts has come from Balkh). The last such event described in the book is that in A.H. 998 (A.D. 1589-90), the city of Surat experienced an earth-quake.

ECHOES OF GUPTA HISTORY IN SANSKRIT DRAMAS

By

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In the early stages of Ancient Indian Historical Studies, it appeared that the imperial Gupta monarchs were practically unknown to contemporary or later Sanskrit literature. In the historical sections of the Purānas, there was a bare mention of the Gupta dynasty, but none of the Gupta emperors had been mentioned by name nor any events of the period of their rule, were recorded. The reference in Bāna's Harṣacarita to Candragupta's successful coup against the Śaka ruler[1] was too cryptic to throw much light on that event. Quite unexpectedly fragments of a lost Sanskrit drama—the Devicandraguptam—came to light in the twenties of this century in the form of quotations in the Nāṭyadarpana of Rāmacandra and Gunacandra and the Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharana of Bhoja,[2] and have brought to light a new Gupta King, Rūmagupta whose historicity has not yet been recognised at all hands.

However, much more interesting, important and varied information has been supplied by four Sanskrit monologues (Bhānas), the Padmaprābhṛtaka of Śūdraka, the Dhūrtavitasamvāda of Īśvaradatta, the Ubhayābhisārikā of Vararuci, and the Pādatāḍitaka of Śyāmilaka.[3] While these monologues have literally illuminated the social, economic and religious history of the Gupta age, they also supply some information having important bearing on the political history of the period. There are several passages in these plays which contain clear reminiscences of the reigns of the Gupta emperors Kumāragupta I and his son Skandagupta.

(1. *On Kumāragupta I*)

In the Ubhayābhisārikā we come across the following statement :

भगवतोऽप्रतिहतशासनस्य कुसुमपुरपुरन्दरस्य भवने पुरन्दरविजयं नाम सङ्गीतकं यथाग्न्याभि-नयमाभिनेतव्यमिति देवदत्तया सह मे पणितः संवृत्तः।

Here we have an obvious reference to Kumaragupta I. It is quite well known

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[1] *Viz.* कामिनीवेशगुप्तश्चन्द्रगुप्तः शकपतिमशातयत्।

[2] Credit for bringing these extracts to light goes to Prof. Sylvan Levi and Dr. A S. Altekar who discussed the importance of the extracts in JBORS, XIN. Dr. D R. Bhandarkar also wrote a paper in the Mālavīya Commemoration Volume

[3] These four Bhānas were discovered and published by Messers M R Kavi & S K Ramanatha Sastri under the title of *Caturbhānī*, in 1922. A much improved and annotated edition has been brought out by Dr. Moti Chandra & Dr. V. S. Agrawal with an illuminating introduction, under the title Śṛṅgārahāṭa.

that Kumāragupta bore the title of *mahendra.* On his coins we have the following legends containing this title :

श्रीमहेन्द्रः, श्रीअश्वमेधमहेन्द्रः, क्षितिपतिरजितो विजयी महेन्द्रसिंहो दिवं जयति, गुप्तकुलव्योमशशि जयत्यजेयोऽजितमहेन्द्रः, गुप्तकुलामलचन्द्रो महेन्द्रकर्माजितो जयति, अजितमहेन्द्रः, साक्षादिवनरसिंहो सिंहमहेन्द्रो जयत्यनिशं क्षितिपतिरजितमहेन्द्रः कुमारगुप्तो दिवं जयति,
and *Mahendrakumāraḥ.* Thus on a majority of the coin types the *birud Mahendra* is engraved. This points out to the popularity of the name. It is well known that Purandara or Indra is also known as Mahendra. So it is obvious, that the *Kusumapura Purandara* of the monologue is no other than Kumāragupta I who resided in Pāṭaliputra. The passage *inter alia* informs us that dramatic performances accompanied by music and dance were arranged at the King's palace.

(2. *On Skandagupta*)

The following verse occurring in the Pādatāḍitaka, apparently describes the achievements of a character named Bhadrāyudha, but in reality is an echo of the achievements of Skandgupta as described in his Bhitari Stone Pillar inscription. The verse in the monologue is as follows :

येनापरान्तशकमालवभूपतीनां
कृत्वा शिरस्सु चरणं चरता यथेष्टम् ।
कालेऽभ्युपेत्य जननीं जननीं च गङ्गा-
माविष्कृता मगधराजकुलस्य लक्ष्मीः ॥

" By whom acting at will, having placed his feet on the heads of the rulers of the Western Coast, Śaka region and Mālava, and having at the (proper) time betaken himself to his mother and the mother Ganges, the might (royal fortune) of the Magadha royal family was made known (in the world) " The ideas expressed in this verse lie scattered in the following two verses of the Bhitari Stone Pillar inscription .

(1) विचलितकुललक्ष्मीस्तम्भनायोद्यतेन
क्षितितलशयनीये येन नीता त्रियामा ।
समुदितबलकोशान्पुष्यमित्रांश्च जित्वा
क्षितिपचरणपीठे स्थापितः वामपादः ॥

" By whom, while exerting to stablise the fortune of the family which had lost its firmness of hold, a night was passed on bare ground , and having conquered the Puṣyamitras whose army and treasury had been augmented, placed his left food on the foot-stool (in the form) of Kings. "

and (2) पितरि दिवमुपेते विप्लुतां वंशलक्ष्मीं
भुजबलविजितारिर्यः प्रतिष्ठाप्य भूयः ।
जितमिति परितोषान्मातरं सास्रनेत्रां
हतरिपुरिव कृष्णः देवकीमभ्युपेतः ॥

"Who, when his sire had reached the heaven, having firmly established the royal glory of his house, which had been overwhelmed, (and) having conquered his foes by the prowess of his arms, approached his mother whose eyes were filled with tears on account of the satisfaction that victory has been attained, just as Kṛṣṇa who had slain his enemies had approached Devakī."

There is a close parallelism of thought between the first half of the verse quoted above from the Pādatāḍitaka and the second half of the first verse from the Bhitari inscription, and also between the second half of the verse from the Pādatāḍitaka and the second half of the second verse from the Bhitari inscription. It does not appear to be a chance coincidence The mention in both cases of the hero going to his mother to report the news of victories which established the prestige and the glory of the royal house, seem to point out to the same historical event, and obviously the writer of the play seems to have been fully acquainted with the details of events which took place in the reign of Skandagupta. The reference to the Ganges in the monologue has a special significance. It is intended to point out the return of the hero to the imperial capital, Pāṭaliputra, which was situated on the Ganges, and also to allude to the close link between one's mother and the river Ganges which for every devout Indian is virtually a mother.[4] It should suffice to dispell any doubts regarding the true social status of the mother of Skandagupta for whom she was as sanctifying as the sacred Ganges.[5] The word *kāle* occurring in the verse from the Pādatāḍitaka has been purposely introduced by the playwright. It means in course of time, when the victory had been achieved, and is intended to convey the same idea as is contained in the words *jitam-iti*. Lastly the line *āviṣkṛtā Magadharāja-kulasya lakṣmī* of the play has, more or less the same import as *viplutām vaṁśa-lakṣmīm pratiṣṭhāpya bhūyaḥ* of the Bhitari inscription. The royal house of Magadha is obviously the Gupta dynasty and manifesting of its glory evidently means the assertion of its political supremacy after the overthrow of its enemies. The author of the play, has, in this manner given clear proof of his intimate knowledge of the important events in the career of Skandagupta

3. *Kumārāmātya*

Another flash of light thrown by these dramatic compositions dispells the obscurity with regard to a much discussed administrative title, viz. the Kumārāmātya. This word has become known to us only from the inscriptions of the Gupta and subsequent periods of ancient Indian History, and has not been traced in Sanskrit literary works nor in Sanskrit lexicons. Consequently there has

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[4] *c.f.* सा त्वमम्ब स्नुषाया सानुध्यानपराभव । Bhavabhūti, Uttararāmacarita, II.

[5] Doubts have been expressed regarding the social status of Skandagupta's mother by Drs Barham & P L. Gupta, BSORS, XVII, 368-69 and JIH, XL, 247. For the refutation of these views see our forthcoming article in the JIH

been a very wide divergence of opinion with regard to the exact nature of this title. Fleet rendered it as 'prince's minister' [6] But this rendering became untenable on the discovery of the Basarh and Bhita seals some of which had the legends such as the following:

१. युवराजपादीयकुमारामात्याधिकरणस्य ।
२. परमभट्टारकपादीयकुमारामात्याधिकरणस्य ।
३. महाश्वपतिमहादण्डनायकविष्णुरक्षितपादानुगृहीतकुमारामात्याधिकरणस्य ।

From these sealings as well as the Damodarpur copper plates it became clear that the Kumārāmātyas were officers holding high administrative posts and were not exclusively the ministers attached to princes of the blood royal. This fact was recognised long ago. Dr. T. Bloch, while editing the Amauna Plate of Mahārāja Nandana, remarked as follows: "Its correct explanation in Sanskrit appears to be:

Kaumārādārabhya amātyah 'One who has been in the service of the King from the time when he was a boy".[7]

However the word has continued to be misunderstood and it is worth while to take due notice of the evidence that helps to dispell the misunderstanding. The following passage from the Pādatāḍitaka throws ample light on the nature and functions of this officer:

एष खलु तया वृद्धपुंश्चल्या सह विवादार्थं गत्वा कुमारामात्याधिकरणादागच्छामि इति ।
कथं भवन्तं जयेन वर्धयामः उताहोस्वित् दण्डसाहाय्येन सम्भावयामः ॥ [8]

Here we get a reference to a judicial dispute in which a person is being questioned by his friend as to whether he has won the suit or has been punished with a fine. This clearly shows that in certain cases the Kumārāmātya presided over courts of justice. This evidence therefore confirms the view that it is incorrect to regard Kumārāmātya as the minister of a prince. As the inscriptions indicate, he performed various functions. He was sometimes a minister of external affairs, as in the case of Harișena.[9] He could be a Commander-in-Chief as also a Councillor, as in the case of Pṛthvīsena.[10] He could be the officer in charge of a District, as we find in the Damodarpur Copper Plates.[11]

[6] CII, III, 16n.
[7] Epigraphia Indica, X, 50 f. n. 2.
[8] Śṛṅgārahāṭa, 213.
[9] Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta
[10] Karmadāṇḍā Lingam Inscription
[11] Epigraphia Indica, XV.

A NOTE ON ANCIENT INDIAN SACRED PROSTITUTION

By

KIRIT L. MANKODI, Poona

§ 1. Since N. M. Penzer wrote on sacred prostitution in India in an appendix to the first volume of his edition of *The Ocean of Story* (1924), and, once again, in an essay of the same title in his book, *Poison-damsels and Other Essays in Folklore and Anthropology* (1950), no independent study has been brought out on the subject. This want is felt all the more keenly when the wider importance of such a study is realized ; for sacred prostitution is not a phenomenon peculiar to the Indian society, but is one that is found in the religious organizations of diverse "higher" and "lower" cultures —The present paper, however, is not such an exhaustive study. Here, I wish to present some references to sacred prostitution which I think take the earlier date of that institution in India farther back in historical times than that of which students are generally aware. I shall not occupy myself with discussing the provenance of this institution any more than is essential, because its prevalence over a large part of ancient and modern India has been demonstrated by the earlier studies to which I shall refer in detail later on. Again, I shall not discuss the origin of the practice of religious prostitution, that is, try to explain the earliest occurrence of this phenomenon on the religious and sociological planes. —And this for two reasons. First, religious prostitution is not a uniquely Indian phenomenon, as I have just remarked, and therefore cannot be studied in itself, without reference to its occurrence in other religious complexes. This would call for a comparison between all its instances, tracing the earliest datable instances, determining migrations or several origins in diverse cultures and in the case of migrations determining the sources, etc., and establishing a most generally valid explanation of it, if such could be established. But this belongs to a different branch of study, that of the comparative history of religions. And second, a study of religious prostitution is not exhausted anyway when account has been taken merely of the prostitute in the temple. The religious *attitude* from which this phenomenon derives cannot adequately be understood unless other customs in which elements connected with this phenomenon participate, such as copulation and sexual licence in certain rites, are studied. It may be found as a result that many of these customs converge into *one* general religious meaning.[1] —And

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[1] For such a study, see Gonda "Ascetics and Courtesans" *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, XXV (1961), practically the whole article, 78-102; but especially 89-102. (In this case, that meaning is the ancient Indian people's concern for all-round fertility.)

this, again, is a study in religious phenomenology; which is apart from the more modest purpose of the present paper.

§ 2. The earliest direct mention of a temple prostitute that Penzer could find was in the A. D. 1004 inscription of Rājarāja, the Coḷa, in the Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore, which recorded that that temple had four hundred "women of the temple", Tamil *talicheri-poṇḍugal*, attached to it.[2] One more, slightly later, reference came from a story in Somadeva's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* (about 1070), in which a courtesan is spoken of as going to the temple to perform her duty.[3] Ghoshal, in his chapter in *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, 'Social Conditions", has given three more references, one in a Bayana inscription of 955, a second in the account by the Arab writer Abū Zaid (916) and a third from Medhātithi's commentary on the *Manu-smṛti* (825-900).[4, 5]

§ 3. Now to take up my references:

§ 3 1. The Lokeśvara-Virupaksha temple at Pattadkal, of about 740, caused to be built by the elder queen of the Western Cāḷukya Vikramāditya, II Lokamahādevī, contains a later inscription written during the Rāstrakūta occupation of Pattadkal, in about 780. The inscription records a religious donation made by a harlot of the temple, when Dhārāvarsa was the Rāṣṭrakuṭa ruler.[6] The Lokeśvara is a Śiva temple.

§ 3.2 The *Vaikhānasāgama* of Marīci, a theological treatise belonging to the South Indian Vaikhānasa cult of Vaisnavism, of a date not later than the seventh-eighth century, contains the next few references to temple dancing-girls [7] Chapter the 44th, entitled the chapter on "Ghatikāvidhi", "Rules of *Ghaṭikā*

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[2] Penzer, 1924, 247; 1950, 146 Hultzsch, *South Indian Inscriptions*, II III (not available to me)

[3] I shall have more to say in this connection in a subsequent note, no. 11.

[4] 379, 390

[5] A critical and detailed bibliography of the more important of the studies on sacred prostitution in India is appended to this article I regret that in order to economise on space I cannot provide a detailed bibliography for all the literature referred to in this article

[6] J F Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions", *The Indian Antiquary*, XI (1882), 125.

[7] For the early date of the *Vaikhānasāgama*: T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I 55, who dates the oldest such texts to about 5-6 cc and, 56, calls *Vkh* perhaps the oldest of the Vaiṣnava *āgamas*, Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, 261 ("on the whole, [*Vkh*] has been assigned a date not later than the eighth century A D."); Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, *Les enseignements iconographiques de l'*Agni-purana, 19 ("l'Āgama le plus ancien . —VII^e siècle env ?"); Louis Renou and Jean Filliozat *L'inde classique*, etc. I§1289 (' Le texte le plus ancien du genre, du moins sous sa recension en prose "—without assigning any specific date however) (My friend, Mr M A. Dhaky, who has looked into the chapters on temple architecture in this text, conveys to me his opinion that on the basis of these chapters *Vkh* does not seem to be earlier than the ninth century).

[-wise Rites]", contains, besides such instructions, also those for the *bali* oblations to the images and for the various services (*upacāra*) of Viṣṇu. The dancing-girls are mentioned in connection with the *bali* ceremony; thus in 44 § 1:

> Tatkāle devagaṇikādevadāsīḥ samāhūya nṛttamaṇḍapa madhye maṇḍalamupalipyāpsarāṁścāvāhyābhyarcya tānapsarah[8] smṛtvā proksya puṣpaṁ datvā tairnṛttageyaṁ ca kārayati ı
>
> At that time [—at the time of offering the *bali* to Viṣṇu, in the morning, noon and evening respectively—] [the *teacher] calling the *devagaṇikās* [and] *devadāsīs* together, and invoking the *apsarasas*, worshipping [them], contemplating the *apsaras*, sprinkling [water], offering flowers [to the *apsarasas*], causes them [—the *devagaṇikās* and *devadāsīs*—] to dance and sing.

§ 3.3. Chapter the 47th, entitled " Ekaberārcanāvidhi ", " Rules for Worship with a Single Image ", describes the procedure of worship in a temple which has got only one main image (the alternatives being nine, six and five images), and also the nine grades of worship. §2 of this chapter contains:

> Dvātriṁśadvigrahairarcanaṁ devagaṇikābhir-devadāsībhirbhaktaiśca nṛttageyasaṁyuktaṁ tattadgāyakavaṁśakaeāravadardurādyaih saṁyuktam prātaḥ prabodhanaghoṣam snānakāle havirdāne balidāne paṭoddharaṇe balibharamanakāle śaṅkhabheryādighoṣaṇam naṭikābhirnaṭanam saptaprākārasaṁyuktam sarvaparsadadevārcanamuttamottamam ı
>
> The very best (*uttamottama*) [worship of Viṣṇu] [comprises] worship with the thirtytwo services accompanied by dancing [and] singing by the *devagaṇikās*, *devadāsīs* and devotees; the awakening sound (*prabodhanaghoṣa*) in the morning with different singers, flutes, *Kalārava* (-instrument) s [?], drums (*dardura*), etc.; blowing conch-shells [and] beating kettle-drums at the time of the bath, at the [time of the] fire oblations (*havis*), at the [time of the] food oblations (*bali*), at the [time of the] lifting up of the curtain [from in front of the image], [and] at the time of moving the food oblations around [the temple]; dancing by the dancing girls (*naṭikā*); [and] worship of all the subordinate divinities installed in the seven enclosures (?)

§3.4. This occurs in the same passage as does the last one, namely in 47§2, and specifies the equipment of a lesser worship than that of the last reference:

> Avatārānām dvikālanivedanaṁ dīpaṁ cājasradīpaṁ guṇasandhyādīpaṁ[9]

[8] The text of *Vkh* contains many such errors of grammar, which have got to be corrected for any coherent reading. I acknowledge the help of a friend, A P. Jamkhedkar, in this regard.

[9] I cannot at the moment explain the diverse names of the lamps, and so I leave them untranslated.

prātarmadhyāhnayoḥ śataṁ rātrau triṁśacchatam śraddhādīpam devadāsībhirgaṇikābhiśca nṛttageyavādyairyuktam prātarmadhyāhnayorannabaliyutam pañcaprākārāyatastham devārcanam madhyamottamam /

The second-best (*madhyamottama*) [worship of Viṣṇu] [comprises]: offerings (*nivedana*) twice [a day] to the *avatāras*; the lamp, and the perpetual lamp (*ajasradīpa*), the *guṇasandhyā* [?] lamp; in the morning [and] noon one hundred [and] at night one hundred and thirty *śraddhā* [?] lamps; accompanied by dancing, singing [and] playing musical instruments by the *devadāsīs* and *devagaṇikās*; accompanied by food oblations in the morning [and] noon; [and] worship of the divinities situated on five enclosures.

§3.5. The rest of the passages from *Vkh* do not name the temple dancing-girl; the presence of dancing-girls, however, is implied in them, particularly as they are to dance and sing in the *nṛttamaṇḍapa* as we have seen, in 44§1 (our §3.2). Chapter the 7th, "Prāsādagopuraparṣadāvidhi", "Rules for [Building] the *Prāsāda*, *Gopura*, [and Establishing] the *Parṣads*", §4, says that a great hall (*mahāmaṇḍapa*) shall be made in front of the (newly constructed) temple, and continues:

Tattatpramukhe tathaiva nṛttamaṇḍapamāgneyādikoṇeṣu tathaivāsthānamaṇḍapam kārayet/

Also the dancing-hall on the faces of the great open hall [and] in the south-east etc. quarters the assembly-hall (*āsthānamaṇḍapa*) shall be made.

In 7§5, again, subsidiary shrines, *parivārālayas*, of the temple of Viṣṇu with its parts, are mentioned.

parivārāṇāmālayam pacanālayapuṣpasañcayasnānodakapānīyasthānam nṛttamaṇḍapaṁ ca...ārabhet/

the houses of the surrounding [divinities], the cooking-house, the [place of the] collection of flowers, the water-place where the water for the bath is stored and the dancing-hall [shall be] commenced.

Chapter the 29th, "Pātraparicchadādisaṁskāravidhi", "Rules for Preparing[10] the Utensils, Garments, etc.", in the course of a description of carrying the *rakṣādīpa* (?) to the temple, says in §5:

Nīrājanapātraṁ kṛtvā pūrvavat pātrasaṁskārahomaṁ kṛtvā pātraṁ saṁskṛtya tatpātre tadādhāre ghṛtena tailena vāpi vartiyutam dīpam śubhrā jyotīti sandīpya dikpiṇḍārthaṁ hāridracūrṇayutamannena daśapiṇḍaṁ pañcapiṇḍaṁ vā muṣṭimātraṁ dṛḍhataraṁ kṛtvālābhe'kṣatapuṣpaṁ vā gandhadravyaṁ ca pṛthak pṛthak pātre saṅgṛhya deveśaṁ sampūjya

[10] For my preference for *saṁskāra* = an act of preparing rather than for the more usual "sacrament", see J. Gonda, "The *Simantonnayana* as Described in the *Gṛhyasūtras*", *East and West*, Year VII, no. 1, April 1956, 12, also 28, note 2.

śaṅkhadhvaniyutaṁ sarvavādyaiḥ stotrairdhvanighoṣairyajamāno vā dāsībhirvā śirasādhārayan śanairgatvālayam praviśya ..

Making the vessel for the waving of lamps (*nīrājanapātra*), preparing that vessel having performed the oblation for the preparing of the vessel as earlier, lighting a lamp in that vessel as its support, in ghee or oil [and] with a wick, [uttering the *mantra*] *śubhrā jyoti* etc.; making ten hard balls or five balls, of the size of the fist, of rice mixed with powdered turmeric; if short [of this] collecting unhusked barley [and] flowers, for the *dikpiṇḍa*, and fragrant substances, each separately in a vessel [or: each in a separate vessel]; worshipping the god of gods to the accompaniment of the sound of the conch-shells; bearing [the *nīrājana* vessel] on the head of the patron (*yajamāna*) or the *dāsī* to the accompaniment of the sounds [and] shouts [arising out] of all the musical instruments and chants, gradually going [toward and] entering the temple...

§3 6. The next reference is from the third Book of the *Viṣṇudharmottapurāṇa*, a sixth-seventh century north Indian treatise discussing in this Book such subjects as the canons of music, painting, sculpture and architecture[11]. Chapter the 117th, "Yātrāvidhi", dealing with the auspicious days for the *yātrās*, festive processions, of Vāsudeva and other gods; with the worship of Vināyaka and *grahas nāgas* and other semi-divine persons, bathing of Śrī-bhagavat (or other gods as the case may be) and other preliminaries for the *yātrā*; with the process of the *yātrā* itself and its paraphernalia; with the calamities following upon damage to the paraphernalia; etc., says in § 1:

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[11] Edited by Miss Priyabala Shah, Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa *Third* Khaṇḍa, Volume 1 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series no CXXX), and Volume II (*sic*) (Gaekwad's Oriental Series no, 137 (*sic*!)). For the date, provenance etc. see her edition, Vol. 1, Introduction, pp. xix-xxvi. The mention of a temple dancing-girl in a *north* Indian text is particularly important. The earliest reference to sacred prostitution that Penzer could find came from the south (1924, 247; 1950, 146), and from the south too did come the bulk of such evidence of any date. The earliest direct mention of the institution that he could find in northern or central India was in the Chinese traveller Chau Ju-Kwa's work, *Chu-fan-chi*, of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (1924, 241, 1950, 140), which said that there were twenty thousand dancing-girls in four thousand Buddhist temples of Gujarat. The courtesan of a story, the "Story of Rūpiṇikā", in the *Kathā Sarit Sagara* of Somadeva (*Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, a Kashmirian compendium of about 1070, and based on its part on another such compendium, the *Bṛhat Kathā* of Guṇāḍhya, with a mythical history of its own), who at the time of worship goes to the temple to perform her duty, and is finally, at the end of the story, made by the king a "free woman" so that she could live with her beloved (husband) Lohajaṅgha, might be understood to have been a *devadāsī*. See Penzer, *Ocean*, I, 138-149, for an English rendering of the story, 1924, 231, and 1950, 131, for his conjecture of Rūpiṇikā being a *devadāsī*. It may be noted, incidentally, that in the *Chu-fan-chi* religious prostitutes in *Buddhist* temples are mentioned. References to Buddhist temple prostitutes are rare, I believe, when compared to those for Hindu temple prostitutes. For one more reference to Buddhist temple prostitutes, see Bhagwânlâl Indraji, "An Inscrip-

Dvitīyadivasādārabhya yāvat sāmarthyaṁ pratyahaṁ naṭanartakanartakī-mallaindrajālikādīnām prekṣāpūrvakam dhanam dadyat/
Beginning on the next day [from the day of the *yātrā*] [and] every day as long as [one is] capable [of it] gifts shall be made to the actors, dancers (*naṭa*), dancing-girls (*nartakī*), acrobats, jugglers, etc., having watched them [perform].

Again, the same text at a different place says, "*nṛttavādyagītaiśca śrī-bhagavantamarcayet*" "Śrībhagavat shall be worshipped with dancing, playing of musical instruments and singing". 114 § 1 says, *Śrībhagavantam gītavādya-nṛttaissamabhyarcayet*", Śrī-bhagavat shall be worshipped with singing, playing musical instruments [and] dancing". 115 § 1 says, "*devāgāre gītanṛttavādya pustakaśravaṇe tiṣṭhet*" "[the *yajamāna*] *shall stay* (*tiṣṭhet*) in the temple to listen to the singing, dancing, musical instruments, [and reading out of the religious] books".

—None of these passages names a temple dancing-girl as such, and the references that follow the first one speak only of *nṛtta* along with *gīta* and *vādya* and never even speak of a *nartakī* as the first one does. But the fact, however, that the *nartakī* is mentioned in a *temple* rite, namely the *yātrā* and the consequent *mahat-utsava*, and that the *nṛtta-gīta-vādya* etc. are mentioned as taking place within the temple, may tempt one to understand the *nartakī* to be the temple dancing-girl, and the dancing in the temple to be *her* dancing.

§ 3.7. The last reference that we shall discuss here is from a Vaiṣṇava Pañcarātra treatise, the *Paramasamhitā*. This is a south Indian work, and has been dated to about 2-3 cc. B. C. by its editor, Krishnaswami Aiyangar.[12]

tion at Gayā Dated in the Year 1813 of Buddha's Nirvāṇa, with Two Others of the Same Period", *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X (1881), 341-347, especially 344, where he has edited a twelfth century Gaya inscription which speaks of these under the names of *bhāvinis* and *ceṭis*. See also D. C. Sircar, in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXV, part II, April 1963, 97-98, for the same.

[12] S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *ed.* and *tr. Paramasaṁhitā* [*of the Pāñcharātra*], (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, no. LXXXVI) 24 He dates *Ps* to about 2-3 cc B C on the following general grounds, namely (1) that *Ps* is a *general* manual of the Pañcarātra and probably not one having reference to a particular temple; (2) that the *Dharma-śāstra* of Manu has a Pañcarātra character, both that work and *Ps* laying down a course of life directed toward an ultimate salvation, and (3) that there is a close similarity between *Ps* and the *Bhagavad-gītā* as a Pañcarātra manual F. O Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the* Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā, 20, enumerates *Ps* among the twelve most eminent (and ancient) Pañcarātra texts, and places it in time before the Pañcarātra *Īśvara-saṁhitā*, which latter he dates to *before* 800. A. Govindacarya Svamin, "The Pancaratras or Bhagavat-sastra", *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* for 1911, 955-956, refers to the Pañcarātra *Pādma-tantra*, 4 33. 197 which calls *Ps* one of the six gems of the Bhāgavata (=Pañcarātra) literature —if that is any indication to its early date. See also Schrader, *Introduction*, 20.

Chapter the 22nd, called "Yātrā", dealing with the two kinds of *yātrā* of Viṣṇu —that for bathing the image in a river and that for transferring the image from an old temple to one newly constructed—while describing the procession itself says:

> Nānā vādıtrakuśalān bahūṁśca paricārakān ।
> Chatradhvaja vitānāṁśca bherīpaṭahatālakān ॥ 18
> Śılpinaḥ sevakāṁścāpi gaṇikā devadāsikāḥ ।
> Evametat samānīya [sic] muhūrte śobhane guruh ॥ 19
> The priest, at an auspicious moment, having brought together [musicians] skilled in various musical instruments, and many attendants, parasols, banners and canopies; the *bherīs*, *paṭahas* and *tālakas*; the craftsmen, servants and courtesans [and] dancing-girls
> ...

In addition to this, *nṛttagītādi*, *nṛttagītāṭṭahāsa*, *nṛtta gīta* and *gīta nṛtta* are spoken of in connection with the *adhivāsana*, *sthāpana*, *yātrā* etc. of the image,[13] which might refer to the dancing and singing of the *gaṇıkās* and *devadāsikās* of our main reference.

§ 4. We have seen, thus, that references to temple dancing-girls go back from about 7-8 cc. A. D. to about 2-3 cc. B C.—farther back than those otherwise known.

§ 5. Some of the texts quoted above call for special notes, with which I conclude this article.—The Lokeśvara-Virūpāksha temple at Pattadkal (discussed in § 3.1) is a *Śiva* temple whereas the *Vaikhānasāgama* and the rest of the treatises (discussed in § 3.2 onward) are generally *Vaiṣṇava*: the dancing-girls are present in both these major cults of Hinduism. We have seen already in note[11] that they are present in *Buddhist* temples too. The dancing-girls are to perform generally *thrice a day*, in the morning, noon and evening, when the *bali* is being offerred to Viṣṇu (§ 3.2). In the 47th chapter of the *Vaikhānasāgama*, dancing, singing etc. of the *devadāsīs* and *devagaṇikās* is part of the paraphernalia in *all but the two lowest grades* in the nine-graded worship (—out of which only two grades are represented here, our § 3.3-4—); they are supposed to be essential to a complete worship, and it is only in the lowest kinds of worship that they (along with some other equipment) are dispensed with. One more function of the dancing-girls seems to be *carrying the lamp* for waving before the image toward the temple (§ 3.5) (—and other similar tasks, I take it). *Devadāsī* and *devagaṇikā* twice occur together (in our § 3.2-3); I do not know the difference between the two, if there is any, but perhaps both denote the temple prostitute.[14] The *invocation to the* apsarasas in the dancing-hall before the

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[13] In 18. 73; 19. 65; 22. 6 and 29, respectively,

[14] Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English dictionary explains *devaganikā* as "deva courtesan,

dancing-girls perform is in its place (§ 3.2). Finally, dancing, singing, sounding musical instruments, blowing conch-shells etc., shouting ("*jaya*", etc.), laughing, possess beneficent and apotropaic character in many cultures. To this is due their taking place at religious and other important occasions.[15]

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Edgar Thurston, *assisted by* K. Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Volume II (Madras, Government Press, 1909), under " Déva-dāsi ", in which much information for contemporary temple prostitutes is offered, but also some for those of older dates.

N. M. Penzer, *The Ocean of Story being C. H. Tawney's Translation of Somadeva's* Kathā Sarit Sāgara (or Ocean of Streams of Story), Volume I (London, Chas. J. Sawyer Ltd., MCMXXIV), Appendix IV, "Sacred Prostitution", 229-280, presents evidence for *devadāsis* from northern, central and southern India, from about 1004 upto recent times.

Johann Jakob Meyer, *Sexual Life in Ancient India : A Study in the Comparative History of Indian Culture* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., two volumes, 1930; reprinted two volumes in one, 1950), who, although he does not deal with temple prostitutes extensively, does offer important incidental information – see his index, under " Harlots ".

(S. N. Sinha *and* N. K. Basu, *History of Prostitution in India* [*Ancient – Volume I*] (Calcutta, The Bengal Social Hygiene Association, September, 1933), who, however, do not offer much historical evidence for the early dates of the *devadāsis*.)

James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough : A Study in Magic and Religion*, Part IV, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, Volume I (London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd.,

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Apsaras" ; but in our contexts this explanation is unlikely. The dictionary too lists this meaning under the category of words and meanings occurring in native lexicons but not so far found in any published text.

[15] For the religious character of dancing, see J. Hastings, *ed.*, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. X, 361 (Right column);—music, IX, 5-6 ; —prophylactic use of bells, VI, 314L(eft column), 315L See also Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, General Index Volume, and abridged edition, indexes under " bells ", " dance ", " music ", etc,

third edition 1936) 61-65, who writes mainly on South Indian temple prostitution, but who also presents extensive documentary evidence on sacred prostitution in other ancient and modern oriental religions, for example on 65-78.

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J. Gonda, "Ascetics and Courtesans", *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Volume XXV (1961), 78-102—the whole article may be recommended as an exercise in religious phenomenological interpretation.

GARUDA-PURĀṆA AND AṢṬĀṄGAHṚDAYA

By

SURABHI H. TRIVEDI, Baroda

The GP. (contains twenty one adhyāyas) on the diagnosis of the various diseases like fever, haemorrhage, cough, dyspnoea, hic-cough, pulmonary consumption, aversion to food, heart-disease, diseases resulting from the excess or abuse of wine, haemorrhoids, dysentery, diseases of the urinary organs, abscesses, ascites, chlorosis, erysipelas, cutaneous affections, bodily parasites, diseases of the nervous system, *vātaraktam* etc. The Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya (AH.) of Vāgbhaṭa also treats the diagnosis of the same diseases in its section named *nidāna-sthāna* (adhs. 1 to 16) in the same order. Both the texts run parallel and the general frame of the text is the same. There are many variations, however, and on a comparison of the readings, it seems that mostly the readings of the Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya fit in better with the context, many a time the readings in both the texts are possible. Sometimes the GP. has some modifications, some readings seem to have changed due to scribal error and only in rare cases the GP. improves upon the text of the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya. There are many variants where it is difficult to determine which is the original and which is the borrower and here a comparison of the original mss. of both the texts is a desideratum. While bringing out a critical edition of the GP., one should bear in mind the importance of the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya, the comparison of which will throw fresh light in determining the exact reading.

In the following pages an attempt is made to examine ten adhyāyas of the GP. (adh. 146-155) by comparing them with the corresponding six adhyāyas (1 to 6—Nidānasthāna) of the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya. In the absence of mss. evidence and critical editions, it is difficult to determine which exactly is the borrower but on the basis of a comparison of the readings, a conjecture may be hazarded that the GP. seems to be the borrower. Dueto limitations of time and space, it has not become possible to examine all the twenty one adhyāyas of the GP., but an investigation may be carried over on the same lines for the rest of the adhyāyas in future.

The adhyāyas of GP. and AH. begin in different ways. This is quite natural in view of the fact that each has to put the matter suiting its own context. Thus *e.g.* the GP. (adh. 146) begins with

धन्वन्तरिरुवाच—सर्वरोगनिदानञ्च वक्ष्ये सुश्रुत तत्वतः ।
आत्रेयाद्यैर्मुनिवरैर्यथा पूर्वमुदीरितम् ॥ ग. पु. १४६.१.

whereas the AH. (adh. 1) reads as

अथातः सर्वरोगनिदानं व्याख्यास्यामः ।
इति ह स्माहुरात्रेयादयो महर्षयः ॥ अ. हृ. १.१;

similarly

धन्वन्तरिरुवाच—वक्ष्ये ज्वरनिदानं हि सर्वज्वरविबुद्धये । ग. पु. १४७.१.

and

अथातो ज्वरनिदानं व्याख्यास्यामः ।
इति ह स्माहुरात्रेयादयो महर्षयः ॥ अ. हृ. २.१.
अथातो रक्तपित्तस्य निदानं प्रवदाम्यहम् । ग. पु. १४८.१;
अथातो रक्तपित्तकासनिदानं व्याख्यास्यामः ।
इति ह स्माहुरात्रेयादयो महर्षयः ॥ अ. हृ. ३.१
अथातः श्वासरोगस्य निदानं प्रवदाम्यहम् । ग. पु: १६०.१;
अथातः श्वासहिध्मानिदानं व्याख्यास्यामः ।
इति ह स्माहुरात्रेयादयो महर्षयः ॥ अ. हृ. ८.१.

Many adhyāyas which are separated by the GP. after giving them independent titles as related to the topics that are discussed therein, are combined together by the Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya and are treated under a general heading. Thus the GP. (adh. 148-149) treats *raktapitta* and *kāsa*, whereas these two topics are treated by the AH. in the same adhyāya (3), similarly the GP. adhs. 150 and 151 treating '*śvāsa*' and '*Hikkā*' are included in the same adh. (4) in the AH. and the adhs, 152, 153, 154 of the GP. treating *yakṣmā*, *arocaka* and *hṛdroga* are treated under the same adhyāya (5) in the AH.

The GP. states—

हिक्कारोगनिदानञ्च वक्ष्ये सुश्रुत तच्छृणु । ग पु. १५१.१;

the AH does not begin the diagnosis of hic-cough after giving a specific statement as done by the GP. but includes its treatment under the treatment of dyspnoea, the same adh. 4 is continued. The GP. (152-1) says—

अथातो यक्ष्मरोगस्य निदानं प्रवदाम्यहम् ।;

the AH. reads

अथातो राजयक्ष्मानिदानं व्याख्यास्यामः ।
इति ह स्माहुरात्रेयादयो महर्षयः ॥ अ. हृ. ५.१.

The GP. begins the diagnosis of aversion to food with the statement 'arocakanidānam te vakṣyéham suśrutādhunā' (153·1), whereas the AH. does not constitute it as a separate topic and therefore, without making a separate clarification includes it under the treatment of *Rājayakṣmā*. Similarly the GP. treats the heart-disease in a separate adhyāya (no. 154) beginning it with the words

हृद्रोगादिनिदानं ते वक्ष्येऽहं सुश्रुताधुना । (ग. पु. १५४.१);

wheres the AH. includes it under the treatment of *Rājayakṣmā* (adh. 5), the GP. (adh. 155. 1) begins with

' वक्ष्ये मदात्ययादेश्च निदानं मुनिभाषितम् । '

the AH. begins as

अथातो मदात्ययादिनिदानं व्याख्यास्यामः ।
इति ह स्माहुरात्रेयादयो महर्षयः ॥ अ. हृ. ६.१.

Thus when the adhyāyas are not separated naturally the headings also are given in the body of one adh. by the AH. Thus *e.g.*, the AH. adds '*Iti madātyayanidānam*' after 6.23, '*atha madanidānam*', (AH. 6.25), '*iti madanidānam*' after AH. 7.30, '*atha mūrchānidānam*' after AH. 6.30, '*iti mūrchānidānam*' and '*atha sannyāsanidānam*' after 6.35; ' *iti sannyāsanidānam* after 6.39.

Now follows a comparison of the variants of both the texts in their respective order, from various points of view. Many a time the texts show a change of words without significant change in the meaning Thus

GP. 148.8 '*iti saṃjñitaḥ*', AH 1.7 "*abhisaṃjñitaḥ*"

GP. 146.16 '*abhiyoga*', AH. 1.15 '*atiyoga*',

GP. 146.20 *viruddhādyaśana*, AH. 1.19 reads *virrudhādhyaśana*

here both the readings are possible as the GP. says that eating incompatible meals is a factor in bringing a disease, whereas the AH. says that taking stale food or food which is on the point of getting spoiled gives rise to a disease.

The GP. 146.23 reads '*duṣṭāmānnaiḥ*', the AH.1.22 reads '*duṣṭānnāt*' the GP.147.8 reads '*yathā svaliṅgam saṃsarge Jvarasaṃsargajo'pi vā*', the AH. 2.23 reads '*yathāsvaṃ liṅgasaṃsarge jvaraḥ saṃsargajaḥ api ca,*' the GP. 147.9 reads '*dehadāha*' '*kaṇdvāsya*', '*saṃbhrama*,' '*pavanāt*,' whereas the AH.2.24 reads '*dāhamoha*,' '*kaṇthāsya*,' '*tṛḍbhrama*,' '*ca calāt*'. The GP. 147.10 reads '*śirokṣikṣīṇaśvāsabahukāsavivarṇāḥ*' and '*bhramitandrāḥ*', the AH. 2.25 reads '*śiroruk pīnasaśvasana kāsavibandhāḥ*' and *bhramatandrā*.' The GP.147.12 '*timiranidrā*', the AH.2.27 '*mahānidrā*,' GP. 147.13 '*hṛprakṛteha*', AH.2.28 '*ati vikṛteha*', GP.147.14 '*mūrdha*' AH.2.29 '*śirah*', GP. 147.16 '*ṣṭhīvanaṃ, raktapittasya loṭhanam śirasótitṛt*' which seems to be a modified version of AH.2.31—*raktapittakaphaṣṭhīvo lolanaṃ śirasótiruk*.

	GP. 147		*AH. 2*
19	मलसंसर्गः, प्रलापितः	32	मलसंसक्तः, प्रलापिताः
18	दोषपाकश्चिरं तन्द्रा, हतौजसम्	33	दोषपाकश्चिरात्तन्द्रा, हृतौजसम्
20	विवृद्धे	34	विबद्धे
20b	सन्निपातज्वरोऽसाध्यः कृच्छ्रसाध्यस्ततोऽन्यथा	34	असाध्यः सोन्यथा कृच्छ्रो भवेद्वैकल्यदोऽपि वा ।
21	अन्यत्र सन्निपातोत्थ, च वा	35	अन्यत्र सन्निपातोत्थो, अथवा

26	अभिषङ्गग्रहोऽयस्मिन्	40	अभिषङ्गात् ग्रहेणास्मिन्
37	अन्वितं, आनुबलः, कुर्याच्च पित्तं	51	अन्वितः, आनुबल, कुर्यात् पित्तं च
39	विकृत	53	विकृति
40	तीक्ष्णत्वमन्दाग्नि, विजीर्णा	54	तीक्ष्णत्वमग्लानि, विड्जीर्णा
43	भूयसामुपदिश्यते	57	भूयसातूपदिश्यते
45	सततं	59	सन्ततं
46	उष्ण	60	उष्मा
47	वासरात्	61	वासरान्
49	शुद्धया, अप्यत्र	63	शुद्धयौ, अप्यनु
55	सन्ततं	55	सततं
57	मलैर्मेदोमज्जास्थ्यभ्यन्तरे स्थिते।	72	मले मेदोमज्जास्थ्यन्यतमे स्थिते।
58	मज्जास्थ, एव ह्यपरः, अनुदर्शयेत्	72	मज्जस्थ, एवेत्यपरे, स तु दर्शयेत्
59	उपगते	73	उभयगते
	GP. 148		*AH. 3*
1	तिक्तं	1	तीक्ष्ण
2	पैत्तिकैः	2	पित्तलैः
5	छर्दितच्छर्दिबैभत्स्य	5	छर्दिश्छर्दितबैभत्स्यं
7	उन्मादधर्मित्वं	7	तद्वर्णदर्शित्वं
9	साधितम्	8	साधनम्
10	यत्र	9	यश्च
10	यस्य विशुद्धौ श्लेष्मणा हिताः	10	अप्यस्य विशुद्धश्लेष्मणो हिताः।
11	कटुतिक्त	10	किमु तिक्ताः
13	संस्पृष्टं	13	संसृष्ट
14	प्रतिलोमिनः	14	प्रतिलोमगम्
15	अभिसर्जितम्	14	अभिषञ्जितम्
16	सर्वथा छर्दनं हितम्, लक्ष्यते, विकृतिं फलतस्तेषु साधितम्	15	सर्वजिच्छमनं हितम्, लक्षयेत्, विकृतिज्ञान-तस्तेषु चाधिकम्।
	GP. 149		*AH. 3 contd.*
1	स एवातः प्रचक्ष्यते The Aṣṭāṅga-Saṅgaha (AS.), (P. 267) has the same reading	17	तमेवातः प्रवक्ष्यति
3	शुष्ककर्णास्यकण्ठत्वं, विहितः, संसृजन्	19	शूकपूर्णाभकण्ठत्वं, विहतः, ससजन्
4	उत्क्षिपन्ति च, क्लिष्टस्वरः	20	उत्क्षिपन्निव, पृष्ठमुरः
5	हृत्पार्श्वोरुशिरः शूलमोहक्षोभस्वरक्षयान्	23	हृत्पार्श्वोरःशिरः शूलं मोहक्षोभस्वरक्षयान्
6	शुष्ककासश्च	23	शुष्कं कासं च
8	कासवेगे च, मूर्ध्नि	25	कासवेगेन

		26	मूर्धे
10	क्षतः	28	क्षते
12	विभिन्नेनैव	29	विभिन्नेनेव
14	इवात्कूजन्	31	इवाकूजन्
15	श्वासपृष्टकटिग्रहः	32	स्याच्च पृष्ठकटिग्रहः
19	अपि नवौ	36	अभिनवौ
20	सामर्थ्यात्, साध्यादौ च पृथक्क्रमः	37	सानाथ्यात्, साध्या दोषैः पृथक्त्रयः
20	मिश्रा याप्याश्च ये सर्वे जरसः	37	मिश्रा याप्या द्वयात्सर्वे जरसा
GP. 150		***AH. 4***	
8	ष्ठीवनान्ते	8	निष्ठ्यूतान्ते
9	अर्हति	8	ऋच्छति
9	आर्तिमान्	9	अर्तिमान्
10	श्वासः	9	श्वासी
11	नरस्य	10	नवा वा
13	दृष्टिः, अक्षम्तु, स्निह्यद्	12	दृग्, अक्षश्च, मुह्यन्
16	मुहुश्चैव, उच्छ्वसित्यूर्ध्वं	15	मुहुर्मुह्यन्,
		16	ऊर्ध्वं श्वसित्यूर्ध्वात्
GP. 151		***AH. 4 contd.***	
8	हिक्का	19	हिध्मा
4b	जत्रुमूलात्परिस्रुता मन्दवेगनी हि सा	22a	जत्रुमूलप्रविसृतामल्पवेगां मृदुं च सा
5	आयामतो	22	आयास्यतो
5	या हिक्कां संप्रवर्तते	23	आहारे या प्रवर्तते
7	जृम्भिता	24	जृम्भिणः
7	हिक्का	25	हिध्मा
8	ध्वम्त	25	स्तब्ध
8	मुष्णती	26	मुष्णती
9	हिक्का	27	हिध्मा
10	शूला	27	मूला
10	च, सा	28	वा, या
11	महत्कुर्यात्, जृम्भणं	28	मुहुः कुर्यात्, जृम्भाम्
11	गम्भीरेण निनादेन, गम्भीरां तु सुसाधयेत्	29	गम्भीरेणानुनादेन, गम्भीरा तासु साधयेत्
13	कृशस्य	30	क्षतस्य
GP. 152		***AH. 5***	
2	कथ्यते	1	स्मृतः,
3	क्षयान्ते समभवेच्च सः, इति राजवान्		क्षयस्तत्सम्भवाच्च सः, तेषु राजनात्

5 व्यर्थं, ताः शिराः प्रपीडयन्	5 कर्फ, तान् सिराश्च प्रपीडयन्
6 निसृज्य, मर्च्यं, व्यथां सञ्जनयेद्धृदः	6 विवृत्य, सर्पन्, यथास्वं जनयेद्गदान्
7 ज्वरः, मार्दवं	7 क्षवः, सदनं
8 शुचावशुचिवीक्षणः	7 शुचावप्यशुचीक्षणम्
9b पाण्यूरुवक्षःपादास्यकुक्ष्यक्ष्णामतिशुक्लता	9b प्राणोरूप्यवेक्षा पादास्यशोकोऽक्ष्णोरतिशुक्लता
10 प्रतोदो जिह्वायाः	10 प्रमाणजिज्ञासा
11 केशास्थि	11 केशाति
12 ज्योतिर्दिवि दवाग्नीनां	13 ज्योतिर्गिरीणां पतनां
13a पीनसश्वासकासश्च स्वरमूर्धरुजोऽरुचिः ।	13b पीनसश्वासकासांममूर्धस्वररुजोऽरुचिः ।
13a निःश्वास	14 विड्भ्रंश
14 संधिस्थे	14 संधिगे
15 वह्निमान्द्यास्यपूतिता	16 वह्निसादास्यपूतिताः
16 शूलं च साङ्गमर्दनम्	16 शूलमंसाङ्गमर्दनम्
17 कण्ठरोधः	17 कण्ठध्वंसः
18 स्वरभेदः	18 स्वरसादः
18 शोथलेपः	19 सापलपैः
19 धातुषु स्वल्पकेषु	19 धातुष्मस्वल्पकेषु
20 अम्लयुक्ते रसैर्युतम्, प्रायोऽस्य क्षयभागानां नैवालं चाङ्गपुष्टये	21 अन्नपक्त्रैव चास्य यत्, प्रायोऽस्मान्मलतां यातं नैवालं धातुपुष्टये
21 रसो ह्यस्य	22 रसोऽप्यस्य
22 अतिक्षीणे	23 अपि क्षीणे
23 तस्य	24 तत्र
24 उष्णोपशमः, भवति संततम्	25 अपशमः, उक्तावसूयनम्
25 मुखं, घुरघुरायतं, सर्वलिङ्गैः क्षयो भवेत्	26 मन्दं, खुरखुरायतं, सर्वलिङ्गः क्षयात्कषेत्
26 उदेति श्लेष्मलक्षणम्	27 मेदसा श्लेष्मलक्षणः
26b कृच्छ्रसाध्याः क्षयाश्चात्र	27b कृच्छ्रलक्ष्याक्षरश्चात्र
GP. 153	*AH. 5 contd.*
3 दुष्टैरन्यैश्च	30 द्विष्टैरर्थैश्च
6 कृच्छ्रं, अनुकृच्छ्रेण	32 कृष्णं, अच्छं कृच्छ्रेण
6b कासास्यशोषकं वातात्स्वरपीडासमन्वितम् ।	33a कासास्यशोधहृन्मूर्धस्वरपीडाक्रमान्वितः ।
7 कटु तिक्तं, दाहपाक	34 कटूष्णं, तापदाह
GP. 154	*AH. 5 contd.*
2 शून्यतात्यर्थं, भुज्यते, रोदितीति, भ्रमः	39 शूल्यतेऽत्यर्थं, तुद्यते स्फुटतीव, द्रवः
3 शब्देऽसहिष्णुता	40 शब्दासहिष्णुता
4 हि	42 च

6	शोथः, कण्डुः	44	शोषः, कण्डूः
7	सततं	44	प्रततं
8	बलक्षयः, च	4	रसक्षयात्, तु
9	हृद्	47	तृड्
10	शिराः	47	सिराः
11	तालु	49	जिह्वा
11	क्षुद्गाराढ्यस्तथामयः	49	तृड्ग्रहोक्तास्तथाऽमयाः
12	भेदः	50	तोदः
13	अम्लाल्पकेन	51	शिताम्बुपानाद्
14	सततं	51	प्रततं
16	सर्वदा	53	आध्मानं
17	रक्तस्य, वातपित्तता	34	भक्तस्य, वातपित्तजा
17	उष्णाक्रान्तस्य, शीतो भवति दुःसहः	55	उष्णक्रान्तस्य, शीताम्भो भजतस्तृषम्
18	तृष्णा, स्नेहपाकजा	55	उष्मा, स्नेहजा च या
20	मोह	57	मेह

GP. 155		*AH. 6*	
1	अम्ल, आद्य	1	उष्ण, अम्ल
2	विकासि, मद्यमेदसः	2	विकाशि, मद्यमोजसः
2	तीक्ष्णाद्याश्च दिव्युक्ताश्चित्तोपतापिनो गुणाः।	2	तीक्ष्णादयो विषेऽप्युक्ताश्चित्तोपप्लाविनो गुणाः।
3	जीवितान्ताः प्रजायन्ते विशेषोत्कर्षवर्तिनः।	2	जीवितान्ताय जायन्ते विषे तूत्कर्षवृत्तिनः।
4	इन्द्रियाणि च	2	दशभिर्दश
4	अपि, प्रमदायतने	4	तु, प्रमादायतने
5	एवम्	4	अधि
5	मद्यपाने मतिर्यस्य प्राप्य राजासनं मदैः।, ततः	5	मध्यमोत्तमयोः सन्धि प्राप्य राजसतामसः।, जडः
5	अवाच्यानां	6	अवद्यानां
7	दर्शकः, परः	6	देशिकः, परम्
7	सततं वाञ्छेत्, अत्र	7	शववच्छेते, तु
8	मानामानं	8	अर्थानर्थं
11	विभेद	15	विड्भेदः
12b	स्वप्नेनेवाभिभवति न चोक्तश्च स भाषते।	18b	स्वप्ने भ्रमत्युत्पतति प्रेतैश्च सह भाषते।
13	मोहो नित्यश्च हृद्भ्रमः, निद्राश्चोदरगौरवम्	19	मोहोतीसारतृड्भ्रमाः, नीद्रोदर्दाङ्गगौरवम्
14	ज्ञात्वा	19	मुक्त्वा
15	मारुतान्	22	ध्वंसके
16a	शब्दासहत्वं तच्चित्तविक्षेपाङ्गे हि वातरुक्	22b	शब्दासहत्वं तन्द्रा च विक्षयेङ्गशिरोतिरुक्

16	श्वासतृष्णावभिज्वराः	23	कासतृष्णा वजिर्ज्वरः
17	निवर्तेयस्तु	23	निवृत्तो यस्तु
18b	वसा, क्लेदना, बलोद्भवाः	25a	रसा, चेतना, बलोत्तराः
20a	रक्ताल्पत्वाध्द्रुताभासश्चलच्छलितचेष्टितः	26b	सक्तानल्पद्रुताभाषश्चलः स्खलितचेष्टितः
20b	श्याम, मद्ये	27a	श्याव, मदे
21	स्वप्नसम्बन्धवाक्यादिः हि सः	28	स्वल्पसम्बद्धवाक्पाण्डुः, अलसः
22	रक्तस्तम्भाङ्गदूषणम्	28	रक्तास्तम्भाङ्गदृष्टिता
22	तु, विकृतेह स्वराशता	29	च, विकृतेहस्वराङ्गता
23	विशेत्कम्पातिनिद्रा	29	विषे कम्पोऽतिनिद्रा
23	अभ्यधिकं श्रमः,	29	अभ्यधिकस्तु सः
	लक्षणादिषु	30	शोणितादिषु
24	नीलकृष्णं, आपश्यन्	30	कृष्णनील, पश्यन्
25	कासः, च	31	कार्श्यं, ये
26	तृष्णोपपीडितः, पीतनीलाभो, अरुण	32	तृट्तापपीडितः नीलपीताभो, आकुल
27	कफे स, पश्यत्याकाशं, हृल्लासः सुप्रसेकवान्	33	कफेन, पश्यन्नाकाशं
		34	सहृल्लासः प्रसेकवान्
28	त्रिदोषैश्च	35	त्रिभिर्दोषैः
31	भवन्ति तेन पुरुषाः काष्ठभूता मृतोपमाः ।	38	कुर्वन्ति तेन पुरुषाः काष्ठीभूतो मृतोपमः
32	इवार्णवे	39	इवातटे
33	मदमानो रोषतोषं लमेयुरिति निश्चितम्	40	रमदमानरोषतोषप्रभृतिभिरिभिर्निजैः परिष्वङ्गः
34	सामर्थ्यं प्रकृति सहायमभवा वयांसि कुरुते । प्रविविच्य तनुं रूपं पिबति ततः पिबन्त्यमृतम् ॥	41	बलकालदेशसात्म्यप्रकृतिसाहायामयवयांसि । प्रविभज्य तदनुरूपं यदि पिबति ततः पिबत्यमृतम् ॥

Now, follows a section which treats of certain readings where the AH. seems to be right and where the GP. readings are wrong or less preferable. Thus e.g. the GP. (146·15) reads '*dhāvana*' whereas the AH. (I·14) reads '*dhāraṇa*' which is better as it is the holding back which aggravates the vayu rather than running. The GP. (146·17a) reads '*Pittam Kaṭvāmlatikṣṇoṣṇakaṭukrodhavidāhibhiḥ*' whereas the AH. (I.16a) reads '*Pittam kaṭvamlatikṣṇoṣṇapaṭukrodhavidāhibhih*', here the reading of second '*kaṭu*' in GP. seems to be wrong as it is merely a repetition whereas the reading '*paṭu*' in AH. can be taken as an adjective of krodha to mean 'excessive anger', the Gujarati edition of AH. gives the meaning of '*Paṭu*' as salty. The GP. (146·18) reads '*svapnādibṛhaṇaiḥ*' the AH. (I.17) reads '*Svapnātibṛṃhaṇaih*', the AH. reading is better as it is excessive fat which enrages cough. The GP. (146.22) reads '*dhātorduṣṭāt*' for '*ṛtorduṣṭāt*' (AH. 1.21), '*vigrahāveśaviplavāt*' for 'grahā-

veṣādviṣādgarāt ', here the AH. reading is better as it is the wrong season, the influence of *grahas* and poison which lead to a combination of the enraging of *doṣas* and not the spoiled *dhātu* and sudden change of one's mode of living as the GP. seems to suggest. The GP. (146.23) reads '*atiśleṣma*' whereas the AH. (1.22) reads '*parvatāśleṣa*', here the AH. reading is better as 'living very near a mountain leads to the aggravation of *doṣas* and not excessive accumulation of Phelgm in the body. The GP. (146.23) reads '*miśropacārataḥ*'. The AH. (1.22) reads '*mithyopacārataḥ* the AH. reading, viz. 'wrong treatment is better as it leads to the aggravation of the *dosas* and not 'mixed treatment'. The GP. (147 1) reads '*mṛtyurājo'śano*', the AH. (2.1) reads '*mṛtyurojośano*', the reading of AH. is better as fever eats away ojas ('*ojośanaḥ*') which is helpful in nourishing all elements in body. The GP (147.2) reads '*tatsantāpaḥ*' whereas the AH. (2 2) reads '*Janmāntayoḥ*' the AH. reading is better because the fever brings swoon at the time of birth and death whereas the reading '*tatsantāpaḥ*' does not convey any meaning and seems to be a scribal error. The GP. (147-9) reads '*śosāvapi*' the AH. (2.24) reads '*śosārati*' which is better as it states that when both kapha and pitta are aggravated the mouth dries up and one is affected by a general depression. The GP. (147-15) reads '*mahasito*' '*hi naivavā*' the AH. (2.30) reads '*Kaṇṭhaḥ śūkairivācitaḥ*, the GP. reading is currupt as it means that in the fever caused by the concerted action of the deranged vayu, pittam and kapham, one has violent shivering or absence of shivering', whereas AH. (2.30) states that in such a fever one gets an itching sensation in the throat as if the thorns are pinching it. The GP. (147.2) reads '*Pitte*', and '*adya vai*', whereas the AH. (2.37) reads '*śīte*', and *amlakaḥ*', here the AH. readings are better, as the context is of '*śītādisannipāta*', and naturally it states that in the *śītādisannipātá*, when the cough abates with 'pitta' and when the shivering sensation is abated one gets acidity, swoon, vertigo and thirst, whereas the GP. reads that with the abatement of the action of the aggravated Pittam comes on fainting, vertigo and thirst etc. The GP. (147.23b) reads '*dāhādau punarantesu tandrālasye vamiḥ kramāt*' which means somnolence, languor and vomiting manifest themselves in succession at the close of the paroxysm at the end of the burning sensation, The AH. (2.37a) reads *dāhādau punarante syustandrāṣṭhīvavamiklamāh*' which means that in the '*dāhādisannipāta*' when the burning sensation comes to an end, the pitta is abated by the melted cough and therefore due to increase in cough one gets languor, salivation, vomitting and boredom. The Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha (on p. 263) reads '*dāhādau punarante syustandrāsvedavamiklamāḥ*'.

The GP. (147.24) reads '*tu kṛtaḥ sveda,*' the AH. (2.38) reads '*atra kṣataccheda,*' which is better as the preceding śloka says that fever due to external causes is of four kinds: '*abhightaja*', '*abhiṣaṅgaja*', *śāpaja*', and '*abhicāraja*' and in the above śloka it defines the *abhiṣaṅgaja* which is caused by

a wound, cut, burning and strain whereas the GP. reading has no relevance. The GP. (147.25) reads 'śokaṃ' which seems to be a scribal error, whereas the AH. (2.39) reads 'śophaṃ', which means swelling which is one of the effects of 'abhighātajvara'. The GP. (147.27) reads 'atisāraśca śyāvatā', the AH. (2.41) reads 'atisārāsyaśyavatā', which is better as it means that the fever caused by poison turns the mouth into a tawny colour. The GP. (147.27) reads 'dāhakard-bhramaḥ' and the AH. (2.41) reads 'dāhahṛdgadāh' which means that in fever caused by poison, the heart is affected. The GP. (147.27) reads '*rūpādau*', '*tayoḥ*' and '*kopātkopépi*' and the AH. (2.43) reads 'bhayādau', '*traye*' and '*kopaḥ kopépi*' which is better, as the context states that in all the three fevers, *viz.* caused through fear, distress and kāma, vayu is aggravated and in the fever caused due to anger, pitta, is also aggravated. The GP. (147.30) reads *hūyamānaśca*, the AH. (2.44) reads '*hūyamānasya*', the AH. reading is better as it means that in the fever caused through speels, first the mind of the man whose name is uttered while performing the homa, *i.e.* the man whom one wants to harass starts burning. The GP. (147.31) reads '*digbhramaiḥ*', the AH. (2.45) reads '*tṛdbhramaih*' which is better as it states that in the fever caused through spells one feels thirsty and giddy. The GP. (147.35) reads '*ca sa sādhitah*' and the AH. (2.49) reads '*ca susādhyatā*' which is better as it means that in the *bahirlinga sannipāta* there is merely external trouble and it can be easily cured. The GP. (147.44) reads '*tulyadṛṣṭyā*' and the AH. (147.58) reads '*tulyadūṣyā*' which is better as it states that in the *santatajvara*, the vayu, pitta and kapha are aggravated by their own enraging factors. The GP. (147.45) reads '*tasyā-viśeṣeṇa*' and the AH. (2.59) reads '*stabdhāviśeṣeṇa*' which means that in the *santatajvara*, the malas are stabdha. Tne GP. (147.18) reads '*yā ca*' the AH. (2.62) reads '*yāvat*' which is preferable as the matter under consideration is the period of *santatajvara.* The GP. (147.49) reads *vyādhiyukātnāṃ*, the AH.(2.64) reads *vyādhimuktānām* which means that even if a person is free from disease, the dusya elements, *viz.* dhātu, time, place etc. can bring viṣama fever. The GP. (147.51) reads '*savikṣepah*', and the AH. (2.65) reads '*savipakṣah*'. The GP. (147.53) reads 'jāḍyādīnāṃ dadhāti saḥ', the AH. (2 67) reads *jāḍyādīnād-adhāti sah* which means that when the *visamajvara* is abated, the *doṣa* which brings it does not disappear altogether but it brings changes into the body, like dulness etc. The GP. (147.53) reads '*vikṛtāsya*' the AH. (2.7) reads '*vivṛtāsya*' which is better as it states that the openings of the srotas are near the āmāśaya and as they are quite wide, the fever spreads in the whole body quickly. The GP. (147.54) reads 'vyāptirdoṣo na' whereas the AH. (2.68) reads 'vyāpti-doṣena' which is better as it says that due to the proximity of the openings of fluids, the fever spreads in the whole body, the GP. says that it does not.

The GP. (147.60) reads '*abhyaceṣṭādi janmanām*, the AH. (2.74) reads '*annaceṣṭādijanmanā*' which means that the nature of viṣamajvara changes

according to the change in the nature of food, etc. The GP. (148.2) reads '*anyaiḥ*' and '*taduktaiḥ*' the AH. (2.1) reads 'annaiḥ' and 'tadyuktaiḥ' which is better as the context describes foodgrains (anna) like kodrava and uddālaka etc. and the other preparations made of them (*tadyukta*). The GP. (148.3) reads '*vyāpnuvat*' and the AH. (3.2) reads '*vyāpnutaḥ*', the GP. (148.3) reads *pittaraktasya*', the AH. (3.2) reads '*pittaṃ raktasya*' which is preferable as the matter under discussion is 'why pitta is called rakta' Similarly the GP. (148.4) reading '*gandhavarṇānuvṛtteṣu*' is wrong whereas the AH. (3.3) '*gandhavarnānuvṛttes'ca*' is right as it says that the smell and colour of pitta are the same as those of blood. The GP. (148-6) reads '*lohito na hi to matsyagandhāsyatvañca vijvare*', the AH.(3.5) reads '*lohalohitamatsyāmagandhāsyatvaṃ svarakṣayaḥ*', the AH. readng is correct as it describes the preliminary symtoms of '*raktapitta*', viz. to have the smell of iron, blood, fish and mango from the mouth. The GP. (148. 9), reads '*baddhauṣadhasya*', the AH. (3.9) reads '*bahvauṣadham ca*' which is better as it means that there are many medicines for *raktapitta*. The GP. (148.10) reads '*Kaphāvahāḥ*' the AH. (3.10) reads '*kaphāpahāḥ*' which means that the bitter medicines can destroy phlegm (kaphāpahāḥ) and therefore the disease is curable. If the GP. reading is taken as the correct reading, it will give contrary meaning The GP. (148.10) reads 'adho yāpyañca nāyuṣmānstat', the AH. (3.11) reads 'adho *yāpyam calādyasmāttat*', the AH reading is better as it means that in the '*adhogāmi raktapitta*' there is a greater quantity of Vāyu. The GP. (148.12) reads, '*navamauṣadham*', the AH. (3.11) reads '*na varauṣadham*', the latter is better as it means that in the *adhogāmī pitta* vomiting is not the remedy, similarly the GP. (148.12) reads '*yasya śāntapittanarasya ca*', the AH. (3.12) reads '*yarśca śāntaye'pi na tasya tat*', which is better as it means that in the '*adhogāmī pitta*', vāyu is not pacified by vomiting. The GP. (148.13) reads '*kaṣāyaśca hitah*' and the AH. (3.12) reads '*kaṣāyāśca hitāḥ*', which is better as it qualifies the medicines. The GP. (148-13) reads '*upanāmanam*' and the AH. (3.13) reads '*ubhayāyanam*, which is better as it describes the *ubhayagāmī raktapitta* after describing *ūrdhvagāmī* and *adhogāmī*. The GP. (148.14) reads '*asahyam pratilomatvād*' and '*asādhyāt*', the AH. (3.14) reads '*aśakyapratilomatvād*' and '*abhāvāt*', which is better as it means that in the *ubhayamārgī raktapitta* as the *raktapitta* oozes from both the sides, it is impossible to turn them in the opposite direction (*aśakyapratilomatvād*) and there is an absence (*abhāva*) of any medicine for this disease. The GP. (148.15) reads '*saṃṣodhanamiheṣyate*', the AH. (3.15) reads '*sarvaśo nāsya vidyate*' which is better as it means that there is no medicine which can pacify all the doṣas. The GP. (148.18) reads '*doṣòtra gamanam*', the AH. (3.16) reads '*doṣānugamanam*' the AH. reading is better as it says that in the *raktapitta* which *doṣa* is *anugāmī* can be known from the characteristic signs of blood flowing in veins. The GP. (148.15) reads '*śivāstra*' and the AH. (3.16) reads '*śirāsra*',

which is better as the matter under consideration is the veins through which the blood flows. The GP. (149.7) reads '*pītākṣikatā* whereas the AH. (3.24) reads '*pītākṣki iphatā*', which is better as in the cough due to pitta, both the pitta and eyes become yellowish.

The GP. (149.9) says '*kaṇṭhe pralepamadanam*', the AH. (3.26) reads 'kaṇṭhopalepaḥ sadanam' which is better as it means that the cough covers up the throat. The GP. (149.11) reads '*kupitam*' and the AH. (3.29) reads '*kuthitam*' which is better as it means that in the '*kṣatakāsa*', the cough is foul smelling (*kuthita*). The GP. (149.15) reads '*kaphādyairvamanam paktibala varṇaśca hīyate*', whereas the AH. 3.31 reads '*kramādvīryam rucih paktā balaṃ varṇaśca hīyate*', the reading of AH. is better as it means that in the *kṣatakāsa*, the virility, sense of liking and disliking, digestive capacity, strength and brightness of complexion get decreased. The GP. (149.17a) reads '*supyate tudyata iva hṛdayam pacatīva ca*', whereas the AH. (3.34) reads '*lucyate iva pārśve ca hṛdayam patatīva ca*' which is correct as it means that the patient feels as if his sides are being snatched off from its original place and the heart as if falls down from its place. According to the GP. it means that the patient feels as if his heart is being boiled and the patient complains of heat. The GP. (149.18) reads '*darśana*' and the AH. (3.35) reads '*daśana*' which is better as it means that in the case of consumption the teeth look beautiful.

The GP. (150.6) reads '*sa samalam*', the AH. (4.5) reads '*saṃśamanam*' which is better as it means that the '*kṣudraśvāsa*' pacifies vāyu automatically. The GP. (150.7) reads '*moharuciram*', and the AH. (4.7) reads '*mohamarucim*' which is better as it means that in '*Tamakaśvāsa*' the vāyu creates *moha* and *aruci*. The GP. (150.11) reads '*jvaramūrchavatah śītairna śāmyetprathamastu saḥ*' the AH. (4.11) reads *jvaramūrchāyutaḥ śītaiḥ* '*śāmyetpratamakastu saḥ*' which is better as it means that the '*Pratamakaśvāsa*' gets curified only with cold medicines, cold food etc., the GP. reading conveys a contrary meaning. The GP. (150.12) reads '*kāsaśvasitavatśīrnamarmacchedarujārditah*', the AH. (4.11) reads '*chinnācchvasiti vicchinnaṃ marmacchedarujārditaḥ*', which is better as it means that in the '*mahāśvāsa*' the chest '*vakṣah*' gets stretched. The GP. (150.17) reads '*śrotraḥ*', the AH. (4.16) reads '*srotāh*', the AH. reading is correct because it means that in the '*ūrdhvaśvāsa*', the mouths of the *srotas* are filled, with the cough and not the ears (śrotrāḥ). The GP. (150.17) reads '*vīkṣyate*', the AH. (4.17) reads *vīkśate*, the latter is correct as it means that in the '*ūrdhvaśvāsa*', the patient's eyes are raised up.

The GP. (151·2) reads '*bhavyodbhavā*' the AH. (4.19) reads '*bhaktodbhavā*' which is correct as it means the hiccough is caused by eatables. The GP. (151.3) reads '*aśāntaiḥ*', the AH. (4.20) reads '*asātmyaiḥ*' which is correct as it means that the '*annajā*' is produced by taking unwholesome substances. The

GP. (151.3) reads *hikkām marutām* the AH. (4.20) reads '*hidhmāmarujām*' which is correct as it means that *annajā* hic cough does not cause pain (arujā). The GP. (151.3) reads '*kṣudhānugām*' and the AH. (4.20) reads '*kṣavānugām*' which is correct as it means that one sneezes after the annaja hic cough. The GP. (151.3) reads '*samam*' the AH. (4.21) reads '*śamaṃ* which is correct as it means that the annaja hic cough abates (*śamaṃ*) with wholesome food. The GP. (151.3) reads '*sandhyānnapānena*' the AH. (4.21) reads '*sātmyānnapānena*' which is better as it means that the annajā hic cough gets abated with wholesome food (*sātmya*) and not by eating at twilight (*sandhyā*). The GP. (151.6) reads *parināmā mukhe*', the AH. (4.23) reads *pariṇāmonmukhe*' which is correct as it means that '*yamalā*' hic cough catches speed when the food is digested

The GP. (152.5) reads '*śarīrasandhim*' which is wrong and the AH. (5.5) reads '*śarirasandhīn*' which is correct. The GP. (152.9) reads '*asnāne'pi*', the AH. (5.9) reads '*aśnato'pi*' which is correct as it means that in the chlorosis, even though one may eat (as'nato'pi) one feels that one is getting weak. The GP. (152 11) reads '*patanam*', the AH (5.11) reads '*Patanga*', which is better as it means that in the preliminary symptoms of culosis, the patient starts seeing in dreams, butterfly etc. The GP. (152.12) reads '*tarau*', the AH. (5.12) reads '*rāśau*' which is correct as it means that in the dream the patient climbs the heap of hair, ash etc. The GP. (152 14) reads '*sthite pārśve ca rugbodhe*', the AH. (5.14) reads '*tiryaksthe pārśvarugbodhe*', which is correct as it means that in culosis, if the dosa has entered the side, one gets pain in sides. The GP. (152.15) reads '*Karnidhvaṃsakaro rujaḥ*', the AH (5.15) reads '*kaṇṭhodhvaṃsanuroruyam*' which is better as it means that in the culosis, the voice becomes cracked and one gets pain in the chest. The GP. (152.19) reads '*vidāho manasah sthāne*' *bhavantyanye hyupadravāḥ*, the AH. (152.20) reads '*vidahyamānaḥ svasthāne rasastāṃstānupadravān*', the AH. reading is better as it means that in '*rājayakṣmā*', as the mouths of the *srotas* are barred and as the strength of *dhātus* is lessened therefore the digestive fluid, getting ripe only in the *āmāśaya*, creates various troubles. The GP. reading seems to be a scribal error. The GP. (152.21) reads '*kurute tu tat*', which is incorrect, the AH (5.22) reads '*kuta eva tu*' which is correct as it means that in the '*Rājayakṣmā*' as the digestive fluid is incapable of creating even pure blood, what to talk of building flesh out of it? The GP. (152.21) reads '*samantācca*', the AH. (5.22) reads '*sa śakṛtā*', which is better as it means that the patient of '*Rājayakṣmā*' lives only because the intestines are filled with ordure. The GP. (152.22) reads '*vyādhau ṣatkaraṇaksayam*', the AH. (5 23) reads '*vyādhyausadhabalākṣamam*', which is correct as it means that the doctor should give up hope for such a patient who is incapable of undergoing the treatment and who is not strong enough to bear through the disease. The GP. (152.23) reads '*sarvasya medasām*', the AH. (5.24) reads '*ṣaṣṭhaśca*

medasā' which is correct as it means that the sixth reason for the disease '*svarabheda*' is 'fat'. The GP. (152.25) reads '*kaphaih*', the AH. (5.26) reads '*kaphāt*' which is better as it means that in the '*svarabheda*' caused by cough one feels as if the *svara* is rubbed against the throat. The GP. (152.25) reads *svayaṃ viruddhaiḥ*', the AH. (5.26) reads '*svaro vibaddhaḥ*', which is correct as it means that in the '*svarabheda*' caused by cough, the voice stammers. The GP. (152.26) reads '*sarvairalpañca varjayet,*' the AH. (5.27) reads '*sarvairantyam ca varjayet,*' which is correct as it means that among six kinds of svarabhedas, the last two '*antya*' are incurable.

The GP. (153.3) reads '*Yathā manaḥ*', the AH. (5.29) reads '*Yathāmalam*', which is better as it means that in the '*arocaka*' the taste of the mouth changes in accordance with the aggravated doṣa. The GP. (153.4) reads '*adhikṛtān*' and '*sarvaṃ sandhyārdhamasyati*', the AH. (5.30) reads 'vikrtah' and '*sarvānpyūrdhvamasyati*' which is correct as it means that in vomitting when the '*udāna vāyu*' becomes '*vikṛta*', it throws out all the doṣas. The GP. (153.4) reads '*upamāḥ*', the AH. (5.31) reads '*agragāḥ*', which is correct as it means that in all the five kinds of vomits the '*utkleśa*', '*āsyalavāṇya*', '*praseka*' and '*aruci*' are '*pūrvarūpa*' (*agragāḥ*). The GP. (153.5) reads *rañjatyāśuh*, the AH. (5.31) reads '*rujan vāyuḥ*' which is correct as it means that in the vomit caused by vāyu, the vāyu throws up the food. The GP. (153 8) reads 'pīta' and *śleṣmatastu samākṣikam*', the AH. (5.34) reads '*śītam*', and *śleṣmatantugavākṣitam*' which is correct as it means that the vomit due to cough is cold and full of cough. The GP. (153.9) reads '*tantrī*', the AH. (5 35) reads '*tandrā*', which is correct as it means that in the vomit caused by cough, the patient feels drowsiness.

The GP. (154.1) reads '*hṛdgatāḥ*' the AH. (5.38) reads *hṛdgadāḥ*' which is correct as it means that now the description of heart diseases begins. The GP. (154.3) reads '*vepanānmoha*', the AH. (5.41) reads '*veṣṭanam mohah* which is correct as it means that in heart-disease the patient feels that he should roll on the ground and has a sensation of swoon. The GP. (154.4) reads '*dhūmakalpitakaḥ*', the AH. (5.42) reads '*dhūmakah pītatā*' which is correct as it means that in the heart-disease caused by '*pitta*' one becomes smoky-coloured and pale. The GP. (154.18) reads '*tīkṣṇāgre*' and the AH. (5.56) reads '*tikṣṇāgneḥ*' which is better as it means that one with a sharp digestive faculty gets the 'tṛṣṇā' disease due to aggravated kapha by drinking oil. The GP. (154.19) reads '*kaṭu*', the AH. (5.56) reads *guru* meaning that the *tṛṣṇā* caused by heavy food (*guru*) is due to aggravated kapham.

The GP. (155.2) reads '*vipadam*', the AH. (3.6) reads '*viśadam*' which is correct as it means that one of the characteristics of wine is that it is 'viśada'. The GP. (155.3) reads '*madyān māndyādīnaujaso guṇāḥ*' the AH (6.3) reads

'*madyaṃ mandādinojaso guṇān*', which is correct as it means that during the first effect, the ten characteristics of wine produce '*vikāra*' in the mind by describing the characteristics of '*ojas*' etc. The GP. (155.11) reads '*saumyo glāniḥ*', the AH. (6.15) reads '*saumyāgneyaḥ*' which is correct as it means that the symptoms of '*madātyaya*' are that in it one gets the feeling of cold (*saumya*) and hot feverish sensations. The GP. (155.11) reads '*puraḥ*' the AH. (6 16) reads 'uraḥ', which is correct as it means that in the '*madātyaya*' one feels as if the chest is heavily pressed. The GP. (155.15a) reads *bhavatām pāyinah kāṣṭhe dravye tasyāviśeṣataḥ*' the AH. (6.21b) reads *bhavetāṃ mārutāt-kaṣṭau durbalasya viśeṣatah* which is better as it completes the idea given in the previous line and states that if a man after giving up drinking again begins to take it or starts taking a different kind of wine which does not suit his constitution, a man who has a weak constitution, gets the diseases called *dhvaṁsaka* and *vikṣaya* by the aggravated vāyu. The GP. (155.26) reads '*bhinnavat*' the AH. (6.33) reads '*bhinnaviṇ*', which is correct as it means that in the swoon due to pitta, a person passes ordure The GP. (155.28) reads '*rājacarmā-vabandhavat*', the AH. (6.34) reads '*ārdracarmāvanaddhavat*', which is better as it means that in the swoon caused by aggravated kapha one feels as if one is covered with a wet hide. The GP, (155 30) reads '*atibalómanāh*', the AH. (6.37) reads 'atibalā malāḥ' which is better as it means that very strong *doṣas* create *sannyāsa* disease. The GP. (155.31) reads *sa* '*sannyāsānnipatitah*' and '*prāṇāghātena*', the AH. (6.37) reads *sannyāsaṃ sannipatitāh* and '*prāṇāyatana* which is correct as it means that strong dosas create the disease called sannyāsa residing in the heart (*Prāṇāyatana*). The GP. (155 33c) reads '*yuktyā yuktaṃ ca vimuktihetave madyamayuktam narakādeh*', the AH. (6.40) reads '*yuktā-yuktaṃ ca samaṃ yuktiviyuktena madyena*' which means that if one drinks wine indiscriminately one is unable to mark any difference between what is proper and improper.

There are many instances where it is difficult to decide which is better, since both are correct from different points of view and here it is necessary to compare the mss. in order to determine which one of the two might be the original reading. Thus, *e.g.* the GP. (147.4) reads '*śaityaṃ*', the AH. (2.22) reads '*śvaityaṃ*', here both the readings can be held as correct since both the effects, *viz.* coldness of skin as well as paleness are possible in case of deranged cough. The GP. (147.4) reads '*aṅśeṣu ca samudbhutāḥ piḍakāśca kaphodbhave*' and the AH. (2.22) reads '*aṅgeṣu śitapiṭikāstandrodardaḥ kaphodbhave*' both may hold good, as the GP. means 'appearance of eruptions on the body, and the AH. means 'white skin eruptions, idleness and elergy'. The GP. (147.54) reads '*kṣapākālena saṅgavān,*' the AH. (2.69) reads '*kriyākalōnuṣaṅgavān*'. The GP. means that the attacks of '*viṣamajvara*' are usually nocturnal, whereas the AH. means that '*viṣamajvara*' lasts for a very long time. The GP. (147.55)

reads '*sandhau syāt* which means that the *satatajvara* affects the body at the time of the *sandhikāla*, whereas the AH. (2.70) reads '*sa dviḥ syāt*' which means that it affects the body twice a day. The GP. (147.59) says that in the '*caturtha-kaviparyaya*' fever, the paroxysm comes on the first day, and continues for three days -'tryahaṃ'- in succession, completely going down on the fourth, whereas the AH. (2.74) says that it comes for two days and then does not come for a day, again the same order is repeated. The GP. (149.7) reads '*madaḥ*', the AH. (3.25) reads '*amlakaḥ*', both are possible as the GP. says that the cough due to pitta causes intoxication whereas the AH. says that it causes acidity. The GP. (149.9) reads '*śleṣmaṇāñca pravartanam*', the AH. (3.27) reads '*śvetaśleṣma-pravartanam*'. The GP. (149.16) reads '*miśram*', the AH. (3.33) reads '*visram.*' The GP. (150.7) reads '*bhṛśam*', the AH. (4.7) reads '*tṛṣam*'. The GP. (151.6) reads '*grīvāṃ yamalāṃ tāṃ vinirdiśet*' and the AH. (4.24) reads '*grīvāmādhmātas-yāti tṛṣyataḥ*', both are possible as the GP. means that it is called *yamalā* and the AH. says that in the *yamalā hiccough*, the neck throbs, one gets *ādhmāta*, and feels thirsty. The GP. (151.8) reads '*śruti*', the AH. (4.25) reads '*sāsra*', the AH. reading is correct as it means that in '*mahatī*' hiccough the eyes are filled with water. The GP. (151 9) reads '*tudantī mārgamānasya*', the AH. (4.26) reads '*rudhantī mārgamannasya*' which is correct as it means that the '*mahatī*' hiccough obstructs the path of food. The GP. (151.9) reads '*sārya*', the AH. (4.27) reads 'śoṣaṃ' which is correct as it means that one becomes thin in the '*mahatī*' hiccough. The GP. (151.12) reads 'anye', the AH. (4.29) reads 'antye', which is better as it presents a contrast to the 'ādye', occurring in the stanza. The GP. (152.8) reads '*laulyamārgānna*' the AH. (5.8) reads '*sthālyamatrānna*'. The GP (152.17) reads '*kāsānardhāṅgagauravam*' which means that in the '*rājayakṣmā*' due to cough one vomits and gets a feeling of heaviness in one half of the body, the AH. (5.18) reads 'kāso *mūrdhāṅga-gauravam*' which means that one vomits cough, and feels heaviness in head and body. The GP. (153.3) reads '*sarvaṃ vītarasaṃ*', the AH. (5.29) reads '*sarvotthe virasam*', both are possible as it means that in '*arocaka*', according to the GP., one loses taste of everything and according to AH, the taste in mouth gets spoiled because of the accumulation of all the '*doṣas*'. The GP. (153.9b) reads '*sarvaliṅgaiḥ samāpannastyājyo bhavati sarvadā*' which means that in the fever due to the concerted action of all the three morbific principles of vāyu, pitta and kapha, the patient does not find any pleasure even in the most congenial topics, the AH. (5.36) reads '*sarvaliṅgā malaiḥ sarvai riṣṭoktā yā ca tāṃ tyajet*', which means that both kinds of vomits, viz. one which is caused by all the *doṣas* accumulated together and the one described in the '*riṣṭādhyāya*'—in both of them all the *doṣas* work, they should be given up as they are incurable. The GP. (153.10ª) reads '*sarvaṃ yasya ca vidviṣṭaṃ*' which means that to a person suffering from the vomit due to cough, everything seems hateful, the AH. (5.36b)

reads '*pūtyamedhyāśucidviṣṭa*' which means that '*dviṣṭārthayogajā*' vomit is caused by seeing or hearing about objects which stink, which are dirty, unclean, abhorring and repulsive. The GP. (153.10b) reads '*saṃkruddhā*,' '*kṛmi-duṣṭānnaje gade*' and the AH. (5.37) reads '*vimṛśetkṛmitṛṣṇāmadauhṛde*'. The GP· means that the type due to the presence of worms in the intestines or to the ingestion of any stale or unwholesome food manifests shivering, nausea etc. as its specific indications, the AH. means that the symptoms of the vomit caused by vāyu are worms, thirst, āma and pregnancy. The GP. (154.4) reads '*śramah*', the AH. (5.41) reads '*bhramaḥ*', the GP. means that in the heart-disease caused by pitta one feels exhausted whereas the AH. means that one feels giddiness. The GP. (154.5) reads '*agnimāndyāsyavai-kṛtaṃ*' which means that the symptoms in the heart disease due to deranged kapha are impairment of digestive faculty and distaste in mouth, the AH. (5.42) reads '*bhārikaṃ sāśmagarbhavat*' which means that the patient feels as heavy as if he is filled with heavy stones. The GP. (154.5) reads '*asthi*', the AH. (5 43) reads '*agni*'. The GP. means that in the heart disease due to deranged kapha, the patient feels pain in bones, the AH. means that the patient feels impairment of digestive faculty. The GP. (154.6) reads '*hṛdroge hi*', the AH. (5.43) reads '*sarvalingah*'-both mean ' in the heart-disease due to the concerted action of the deranged vāyu, pittam and kapham'. The GP. (164.7) reads '*śighramārinam*' which means that the medical treatment of some of the serious types of ' hṛd-roga' should be begun as soon as its symptom manifests otherwise it speedily turns its course and terminates fatally in most instances (śighramāriṇam), the AH, (5.45) reads '*śighrakāriṇam*' which means that the serious varieties of hṛdroga should be immediately treated (*śighrakāriṇam*). The GP. (155.10) reads '*bhavedrogo madātyayaḥ*', the AH (6.14) reads 'catvāraḥ *syurmadātyayaḥ*', the GP. (155 14b) reads '*sarvañca rucirañcāsya matidhvaṃsakavikriye*', the AH. (6 21a) reads '*sahasānucitam vānyattasya dhvaṃsakavikṣayau.*'.

Now follows a list of cases where the wordings differ due to grammatical changes which are necessary to suit the construction of each text. Thus

G.P. 146		*AH. 1*	
14	अहितः	13	अहितं
16	भुत्तयन्ते	15	भुक्तान्ते
22	तथाऽन्नपरिवर्तनः	20	तथाऽन्नपरिवर्तनात्
GP. 147		*AH. 2*	
1	क्रुद्ध, ध्वंसि	1	क्रोधः, ध्वंसी
31	मूर्च्छाग्रस्तस्य	45	मूर्च्छैर्ग्रस्तस्य
34	पवनैः	48	पवने
42	लङ्घनम्	56	लङ्घनात्

GP		AH	
52	क्षीणदोषः	66	क्षीणे दोषे
:6	सपूर्वशिरसानिलात्	73	स पूर्वं शिरसोऽनिलात्
	GP. 148		*AH. 3*
2	मूर्च्छति, तैः	2	मूर्च्छिते, ते
	GP. 149		*AH. 3 contd.*
15	राजयक्ष्मणः	32	राजयक्ष्मिणः
16	यक्ष्मायतन	33	यक्ष्मायतनैः
	GP. 150		*AH. 4*
3	गमन	3	गमनः
4	दुष्ट	4	दुष्टः
6	प्रेरयन्, शिरा, गच्छेत्	5	प्रेरयेत्, सिरा, गच्छन्
	GP. 152		*AH. 5*
10	घृणिता	10	घृणित्वं
14	राजयक्ष्मणः	15	राजयक्ष्मिणः
	GP. 153		*AH. 5 contd.*
6	युतः	32	युतं
10	हृल्लासः, कृमिजे भवेत्	38	हृल्लासैः कृमिजां वदेत्
	GP. 154		*AH. 5 contd.*
2	शुष्यते	40	शुष्यति
7	दीयते, तच्छीघ्रं	44	दार्यते, तं शीघ्रं
9	सर्वेषु	46	सर्वासु
11	कार्कश्यात्, निष्क्रमणे	49	कार्कश्यं, निष्क्रमणं
15	स्रोतश्च सकफं	52	स्रोतःसु सकफः
16	यः स स्यात सर्वलक्षणः	54	सर्वैः स्यात् सर्वलक्षणा
19	आमोद्भवात्	54	आमाद्भवा
	GP. 155		*AH. 6*
10	सामान्यलक्षणं	15	सामान्यं लक्षणं
13	श्लेष्मणच्छर्दि	20	श्लेष्मणा छर्दि
25	वारुणच्छाया, मारुतात्मिका	31	वारुणा छाया, मारुतात्मके
29	मदमूर्च्छायां	36	मदमूर्च्छायाः
30	सन्यासेन	36	संन्यासः

The are a few cases of scribal error. Thus, e.g.

GP.	*AH.*
146.1 दुष्टं	1.1 दुःखम्
146.21 मृत्यवसरपूतिः	1.20 मृत्यवसरापूतिः
146.24 रोगविध्यनुगामिनः	1.23 रोगाधिष्ठानगामिनीः

146.24 रसायनं	1.23 रसायनीः
147.5 विपरीतो यथापि वा	2.23 विपरीतोपशायिताः
147.50 दुष्ट्यादेः, लब्धा	2.64 दुष्यादेः, लब्ध्वा
147.58 कफोणिजङ्घाभ्यां	2.73 कफेन जङ्घाभ्याम्
150.5 आयासोऽतिभोजनैः	4.5 आयासातिभोजनैः

Sometimes the GP. seems to make a deliberate change. Thus, *e.g.* the GP. (146.19) reads '*vakṣyāmi saṅkarāt,*' and the AH. (1.18) reads '*dvandvam tu saṅkarāt,*' here the GP. states in general that the treatment of a combination of the deranged vayu, pittam and kapham follows, whereas the AH. (1.18) states that now follows a treatment of two doṣas getting enraged when two causes combine.

In some cases the GP. improves upon the AH. Thus the GP. (1.15) reads that acid food (amlaṃ) and voracious eating (apramita) aggravate the bodily vāyu, whereas the AH. (1.14) says that limited quantity of food cannot enrage vayu, The GP. (147.22) reads '*kaphe*', while the AH. (2.36) reads '*kaphau*'. The GP. (149.21) reads '*kāsā*' and '*tān*', the AH. (3.38) reads '*kāsā*' and '*taṃ*'. The GP. (150.15) reads '*pranasṭa*', the AH. (4.14) reads '*praṇaṣṭa*' which is grammatically wrong.

GP. and AS.

There are some ślokas of the GP which do not have their corresponding reading in the AH. but they are found in the AS. written by Vāgbhaṭa himself. Thus the GP. (147.3) is not found in the AH., but is found in the As., where '*jaladeṣu*' is read as '*jalajeṣu*' and some words are dropped. This verse is also translated and given in brackets in the Gujarati edition of the Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya. It gives different names of fevers belonging to different animals. The GP. (147.19) is not found in the AH. but it is found in the AS. (P. 262), but the GP. reads '*kaṇṭharuddhena*' and '*pravartate*' whereas the AS. reads '*kapharuddhena*' and '*prapadyate.*' The GP. (147.50b) *viz.* '*sapratyaniko viṣamaṃ yasmādvṛddhikṣayānvitaḥ*' is not found in AH, but it is found in AS (P. 264) which reads it as '*sapratyaniko viṣamaṃ kuryāt vṛddhikṣayānvitaḥ*'. The GP. 147.62b to 80 are not found in the AH.. but most of the portion is found in the AS. The GP (147.67c) reads '*śvāsaḥ*', the AS. (P. 265) reads '*sādaḥ*', both of which may hold good. The GP. (147.68) reads *rakṣasṇaḥ*, the AS. reads '*raktoṣṇaḥ*', which is correct, similarly in place of '*pralāpo*' (GP. 147.73c) the AS. reads '*pralāpaḥ*' which is correct. The following are the variants in GP. (147.68...) and AS. (P. 265), the sign √ notes the reading as right, the × notes the reading as wrong.

GP. 147	*As. P. 265*
69 दौर्गन्ध्यं वा ×	स्वगन्धस्य √
70 अस्थिस्थे √	अस्थिगे √

71a	उद्बोधः ×		ऊर्ध्वाधः √
71b	हिक्का √	P. 266	हिध्मा √
71b	प्रवृत्तौ √		प्रवृत्तिः √
73a	पञ्चान्त्ये तु विपर्यये ×		पंचात्रान्त्यौ वर्जयेत् √
73c	प्रलापः ×		प्रलेपः √
	× √ √		√ √ √
74a	शीतकृच्छ्रागच्छति		शीतः कृच्छ्रेण सिध्यति
74	अंगबलाशकः √		वातबलासकः √
75	भेद् ×		भेक √
75	यत्र √		यस्य √
76b	तीक्ष्णोऽथवा दिवा मन्दो ×		तीक्ष्णो वा यदि वा मन्दो √
77a	दिवाकरार्पितबले √		दिवाकरापीतबले √
78	यदा आत्मस्थे, ×		यदा दुष्टे √
	अधःस्थिते ×		व्यवस्थिते √
78b	तदर्धं ×		तदाऽर्धं √
79a	न्यस्तं ×		दुष्टं √
81	सदोषमुष्णाञ्च सद्य शकृन्मुञ्चति वेगवन् √		सदोषशब्दं च शकृद्रवं सृजति वेगवन √

While comparing the texts, one finds that some portion of the AH. has no corresponding response in the text of the GP. Here one is inclined to feel that the portion which is not found in the GP. might have been added in the text of AH. afterwards, but on a proper scrutiny one finds that wherever the portion is missing in the GP., it breaks the link, thus it seems an omission in the GP and not an interpolation in the AH.

The ślokas 3-21 of AH. (adh. 2) are omitted in the GP. after 147.3. This omission breaks the link in as much as the GP, thereby omits the discussion of pittajvara and vātajvara and also one śloka of kaphajvara even though it was necessary to discuss them.

The ślokas 75b-78 of AH. (adh. 2) are not found in the GP. after 147-60 whereas the ślokas 62b to 80 (GP.) are not found in the AH, but have corresponding readings in the AS. (PP. 265, 266). The Portion of AH. (2.75b-78) which is omitted in the GP. deals with the reasons of changes taking place in the nature of *vişamajvara* and the characteristics of the abatement of fever. The ślokas 21b to 22 of AH. (adh. 3) are not found in the GP. after adh. 145-4. They deal with the difference in the pain of five kinds of cough. The line 5-20b of AH. is not found in the GP. after 152.19. The line is '*kuryādagacchanmāṃsādīnasṛk cordhvaṃ pradhāvati,*' *i e.* the blood (which is not completely pure) rushes towards the upper region without reaching the flesh (and thus comes out through vomit or saliva). The AH. (5.39a) *viz.* '*tapte citte hṛdi kliṣṭe chardi-*

dviṣṭārthayogajā' gives an additional symptom for the '*dviṣṭārthayogajā*' vomit, *viz.* that it is caused by mental tension and heaviness of heart. This is not found in GP. after 153.10A. The AH. (6.8-13) is omitted in the GP. after (155.8). It discusses the harm that is caused by drinking wine, the harm that is caused if the wine is taken indiscriminately and the characteristics of people who are affected by drinking wine and are not affected by it. The AH. (6.14b) reads '*sarve'pi sarvairjāyante vyapadeśastu bhūyasā*' which is omitted in the GP. after 155-10a. It means that there are four varieties of madātyaya but the particular variety is named after the aggravated doṣa.

The AH. (6.16a) reads '*śirahpārśvāsthihṛtkampo marmabhedastrikagrahah*' which is omitted in the GP. after 155.11a. It means that in madātyaya one feels as if his heart is pierced and the lower part of the spine is paralysed. The AH. (6.17b-18a) reads that in the madātyaya one gets pralāpa, vomit, utkleśa. giddiness and bad dreams and in the madātyaya caused by vāyu one cannot sleep and one breaths heavily, shivers and suffers from headache. This portion is omitted in the GP. after 155-12a. The AH. (6.19b) reads *deho haritadāridro raktanetra-kapolatā,*' which is omitted in the GP after 155-13a. It means that in the madātyaya caused by pitta the body becomes yellowish and the eyes and cheeks become red. After 6-24a, the AH. adds '*iti madātyayanidānam*', and after 6.25, it adds *atha madanidānam*, after 6.30, it adds '*iti madanidānam*' *atha mūrchāyani-dānam*, after 6.35b, it adds *iti mūrchāyanidānam, atha sannyāsanidānam*, after 6.39 it adds '*iti sannyāsanidānam*'.

Some ślokas of the GP. are not traced. Thus the GP. (147.6-7½) treats '*āmajvara*', it seems to be an interpolation as it breaks the link of the discussion of three kinds of fevers caused by vāta, pitta and kapha. The GP. (147.60b) viz. '*pakvānāmaviniryāsātsaptarātrañca laṅghayét*, is not found in the AH. as well as AS. It emphasises the need of fast for seven days when the deranged morbific principles are not eliminated in well-digested condition. The GP. (149.13a), viz. '*dukhasparsena śūlena bhedapīḍā hi tāpinā*' is not found in either AH. or AS, which treats of the complaints of patient. This line is not very significant as the meaning is already conveyed in the previous line. The GP. (155 1) describing the condition of the patient is not traced.

Abbreviations :

Adh. — adhyāya

AH. — Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya by Vāgbhaṭṭa.
Ed. Sastu Sāhityavardhaka Kāryālaya, 1952.

AS. — Aṣṭāṅgasaṃgraha by Vāgbhaṭṭa

GP. — Garuḍa Purāṇa
Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1964.

YAMA-YAMĪ DIALOGUE

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There are certain hymns in the RV which are known as *Ākhyāna*-hymns or *Saṃvāda*-hymns or ballads or mythological ballads [1]. One of the most interesting of these hymns is the Yama-Yamī dialogue (RV 10 10) which is a " valuable fragment of art of narration in ancient times " [2]. This Ṛgvedic torso finds a later version in thirteenth chapter of the Narasiṃhapurāṇa (=NP) [3]. The chapter 12 ends with the Mārkaṇḍeyacarita which is described as '*amṛtā, puṇyā, sarvapāpapranāśinī Vaiṣnavī kathā*' (13.1-3) Śuka requests Vyāsa to narrate him another *puṇyā, pāpaharā kathā* (13.1,3,4) and in response to his request he narrates him this famous Yama-Yamī dialogue. This *kathā* is said to be a *vaidikī kathā* (14.1) as well as a *vedapadārthaniścitam ākhyānam* (13.41) by the NP itself. [4] It is, therefore, proposed in this paper to make a comparative study of both these versions.

The RV-version (10.10) introduces the listener directly to a dialogue between the twin brother and sister Yama and Yamī, whereas the NP has a prefatory tract which informs us that Vyāsa narrated it to Śuka at the request

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[1] For a discussion of previous theories about these hymns *vide* Alsdorf L., Ākhyāna Theory Reconsidered, Journal of the Oriental Institute, (Baroda), Vol. XIII, No 3 (1964), pp 194 ff

[2] Winternitz M., A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 105. On RV 10.10 *vide* Dandekar R. N , Yama in the Veda, B C Law Volume, Part I, pp. 195, 196, 204 ff

[3] The NP is also called Nṛsiṃha—or Nārasiṃhapurāṇa. It is "one of the oldest and most important of the extant Vaiṣṇava Upapurāṇas ". (Hazra R. C , Studies in Upapurāṇas, Vol. I, p 219) "The date of the present Narasiṃhapurāna is to be placed between 400 and 500 A.D. It is highly probable that this Purāna was written in the latter half of this century ". (Hazra R. C., *op. cit.*, p. 242). Moreover, " chapters 13-18 have a Pāñcarātra stamp, because in these chapters Nārāyaṇa and the eight syllabled mantra ' om namo Nārāyaṇāya ' are praised and there is no mention of the name ' Kṛṣṇa '. That chap. 13 is a later addition is also shown by the absence of praise of Viṣṇu or Vaiṣṇavism in this chapter (dealing with Yama-Yamī saṃvāda) except in the line 'cittaṃ me nirmalaṃ bhadre Viṣnau Rudre ca samsthitam' (spoken by Yama to Yamī) which gives unlike the other chapters the same place to Viṣṇu and Rudra. As the interlocutors Śuka and Vyāsa of chapters 13-18 are first introduced in chap. 7, these chapters are most probably later than chap 7-12 ". (Hazra R.C., *op cit* , p. 254). In this paper the unspecified references are to the second edition of the NP published by Gopal Narayan & Co., Bombay, in 1911.

[4] This Yama-Yamī-Kathā is styled in the NP as *saṃvāda* (13.6), *upākhyāna* (13 38), *ākhyāna* (13.41) and also as *purātana itihāsa* (13.6). The colophon also reads *Yama-Yami-Saṃvādo nāma*...On the terms *purāṇa, ākhyāna* and *itihāsa*, *vide* Gupta Anand Swarup, Purāṇa, Itihāsa and Ākhyāna, Purāṇa, Vol. VI, No. 2 (July 1964), pp. 451 ff.

of the latter to the former to tell a *puṇyā, sarvapāpapraṇāśinī, pāpaharā Vaiṣṇavī kathā* (13.1,3,4 as noted above), which is as follows:—

Yama and Yamī are the children of Vivasvat who is the son of Aditi. Yamī is said to be younger to Yama (14.7). According to the Matsyapurāṇa, Vivasvat is the son of Kaśyapa and Aditi. And Yama and Yamī are the twin children of Vivasvat and Tvāṣṭrī Saṃjñā.[5] Once Yamī approached her brother and made a fervent passionate appeal to him. In her raging passion she states condemnably that a brother deserves not to be called so, if he does not become her husband. She grows tempestuous and goes to the extent of making a lustful request that he should unite himself with her (13.9-16). Yama repulses her advances by saying that he will not unite himself with her (13.17). He points out that such an act is not only declared a *mahāpātaka*, but it is '*paśūnām eṣa dharmah*' (13.19). In defence to him he further remarks that whatever she pleaded for was *lokavidviṣṭadharma* (13.19).

Inspite of Yama's ethical argument she tries to legitimate her point by reminding him that when their former union in one place—in the mother's womb—was not calumniating, defiling, and blemishing, why he should not, then, long for her who is *anāthā* (13.19-20). Yama tries to rebut this argument by pointing out that even Svayambhū would condemn such an abominable act.[6] Moreover, he points out that the non-doing of condemned acts is a characteristic of *Dharma*. He repeats that her fervid request is nothing but an *atipāpa*. He points out also that sages have declared it a *pāpa*, if one draws one's sister unto oneself. He says further to her that she may delight herself with any one who is mad after her. And he categorically states he would not be her husband (13.21-27). Yamī, then appealingly, refers to his peerless beauty and youthful age and laments that she does not know whereon he has set his mind and heart and why he does not love an enticing beauty deeply enamoured of him when, like a creeper entwining a tree, she has sought his refuge and would like to stay interlocked in embrace (13.27-30). Yama steadfastly repulses Yamī's longing

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[5] *Vivasvān Kaśyapāt pūrvam Adityām abhavat sutaḥ /*
tasya patnītrayaṃ tadvat Saṃjñā Rājñī Prabhā tathā //
Raivatasya sutā Rājñī Revataṃ suṣuve sutam /
Prabhā Prabhātaṃ suṣuve Tvāṣṭrī Saṃjñā tathā Manum //
Yamaś ca Yamunā caiva yamalau tu babhūvatuḥ / Matsyapurāṇa 11.2-4

Note that Yama and Yamī are called *yamalau*. It is significant to note that "the word *yama* has also the appellative meaning 'twin'." (Macdonell A. A., Vedic Mythology, p. 172) and *yáma* means 'rein' (Macdonell A. A., *op. cit.*, p. 172). For the linguistic consideration of the name *yamá vide* Dandekar R. N., *op. cit.*, pp. 202-203.

[6] *Svayambhuvāpyanindyetallokavṛtaṃ jugupsitam/* NP. 13.2. S.K. De and R. C. Hazra propose to emend the reading with a sign of interrogation as follows.

Svayambhuvāpi nindyeta lokavṛtam..../ Purāṇetihāsasaṅgrahaḥ (An Anthology of the Epics and Purāṇas), p. 328.

urge and observes again that she should embrace another man who is mad after her like a mad male elephant embracing a female elephant and be his wife. By referring to a dictum of the wise men, Yama observes that the *suvidvat* will not commit a *dūṣaṇa* even for the sake of a *varyā* and *susaṃskṛtā* woman. He is *dṛḍhavrata* and *dṛḍhacitta* and will not commit a repentful act. He further says that his mind is well established in Viṣṇu and Rudra (13.31-35)[7]. Tempestuously she persisted repeatedly in her passionate advances, but Yama disdained her request resolutely and did not do what was unworthy of doing and thereby ultimately he obtained the *devatva* (13.36).

A study of both these versions shows that there is a close parallel between the two. Some of the arguments taken up from RV 10.10[8] are presented either as they are or expanded or altered, while some of them are dropped in the NP-version.

The germs of Yamī's passionate request to Yama in 13.9-16 are seen in RV 10.10.7, 11 wherein the utterances of Yamī are very forceful. *Cf.* :—

Yamásya mā Yamyàṃ kā'ma ā'gan
tsamānė́ yónau sahaśéyyāya /
jāyéva pátye tanvàṃ rirícyāṃ
ví cid vṛheva rátheya cakrā' // RV 10.10.7 *Cf.* also RV 10.10.3 *cd.*
ki'ṃ bhrā'tāsad yád anāthám bhávāti
ki'm u svásā yán ni'rṛtir nigácchāt /
kā'mamūtā bahvètád rapāmi
tanvā̀ me tanvàṃ sáṃ pipṛgdhi // RV 10 10.11

For NP 13.16-18, 26 cf. RV 10.10.12

ná vā' u te tanvā̀ tanvāṃ sáṃ papṛcyāṃ
pāpám āhur yáḥ svásāraṃ nigácchāt /
ná te bhrā'tā subhage vaṣṭyetát // RV 10.10.12

Note that in RV 10.10.12*b* it is the person who is called a *pāpa* (*cf. pāpakāriṇam*, Sāyaṇa), whereas in the NP (13.18) the act is called a *mahāpātaka* '*na te saṃyojayiṣyāmi kāyaṃ kāyena bhāmini*' (13.17) is a paraphrasing of '*ná vā u te tanvā̀ tanvàm sám papṛcyām*' (RV 10..10.12*a*).

The NP 13.19 *cd*-20 *ab* seems to be indebted to RV 10.10.5 *ab. Cf.*

gárbhe nú nau janitā' dámpatī kar
devás Tváṣṭā Savitā' viśvárūpaḥ / RV 10.10 5 *ab.*

In the RV 10.10.10 Yama sees the portent of future moral degeneration in the incestuous relations between a brother and a sister and asks her to look for somebody else for her husband. In the NP also Yama appears to have a

[7] *Vide* fn. 3 *ante.*

[8] RV 10.10 is repeated in AV 18.1.1 ff.

tacit feeling of the Ṛgvedic Yama and hence he in the NP makes a general statement that the best people in the society are the guides and beacon-lights for the behavioural pattern and activities of the people at large and hence he will not touch her body (13.23 ff). Yama's advice to Yamī to look for another man as her husband in 13.25-26 finds a parallel in the RV:

any 'na mád āhano yāhi *tū'yaṃ*
téna vi' vṛha ráthyeva cakrā' || RV 10.10.8 *cd*[9]
úpa barbṛhi vṛṣabhā'ya bāhúm
anyám icchasva subhage pátiṃ mát || RV 10.10.10 *cd*
anyéna mát pramúdaḥ kalpayasva / RV 10.10.12 *c*

The simile of a creeper clinging a tree (13.30) finds its parallel in RV 10.10. 13*d*, 14*b* (cf *pári ṣvajāte li'bujeva vṛkṣám* /). In the RV 10.10.13*d* Yamī employs this simile, while telling him (i.e. Yama) that he will be embraced by another woman and Yama employs it while telling her that she will be embraced by another man. In the NP it is employed by Yamī while pointing out her deep attachment to Yama.[10] Yamī's speech—'*hṛdayaṃ na jānāmi*'—in the NP finds its parallel in Yāmī's speech—'*náivá·te máno hṛ'dayaṃ cāvidāma* / (RV 10.10.13 *ab*). Yama's direction to Yamī *viz. anyaṃ śrayasva suśroṇi devam*......(13.31) finds its parallel also in Yama's direction to Yamī in the RV with words: *anyám ū ṣú tvám yamyanyá u tvā'ṃ pári ṣvajāte* (RV. 10.10.14 *ab*; cf. also RV. 10.10.10. *cd*).

In the NP (13.7) Yama and Yamī are said to be the children of Vivasvat, but according to RV 10.10.4 *cd* Gandharva and the water-nymph are the origin of Yama and Yamī. Here Geldner observes that "Gandharva in the RV is almost equal to the Sun-god and he is just as Vivasvat in several places equal to the Sun-god ".[11] But elsewhere in the RV (10.10.5; 10.17.1-2) Vivasvat is Yama's father and Saraṇyū, the daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ, is his mother .[12] It is significant to note that according to the Matsyapurāṇa (11.3, *vide* fn. 5 *ante*) Tvāṣṭrī Saṃjñā is the mother of Yama and Yamī, the twin brother and sister. Yama's blatant refusal in the NP to accede to Yamī's invitation on the ground that his pure mind is set in Viṣṇu and Rudra reminds one of Yama's drawing Yamī's attention to the laws of Mitra and Varuna and to the spies of gods who walk down here and do not wink their eyes.[13]

[9] *vi-vṛh* has a secondary connotation. *Vide* Geldner, Der Rigveda, Dritter Teil, HOS 35, p. 135, fn. to RV 10 10 10 *cd*. I am highly grateful to Mr. J. Jansen, Lecturer in German, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda, for translating the relevant portion from Geldner's Der Rigveda.

[10] Note also that the Rgvedic simile *viz*. the girth (surrounding) the harnessed horse (*kakṣyèva yuktám*.. RV 10.10.13 *c*) occurs in a changed form and different context in the NP: *anyā vā kariṇā hastikakṣeva* (13.29).

[11] Geldner, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

[12] Macdonell A. A., Vedic Mythology, pp. 42, 172.

[13] *bṛhán Mitrásya Várunasya dhā'ma*...... RV 10.10.6*c*. The law of Mitra and Varuṇa referred to here is a moral law. (Geldner, *op cit.*, Note to RV 10.10.6*c* on p. 135). *(Contd.)*

As in the RV[14], Yama, the brother, stands in the NP for the moral law which is higher. This is testified by Yama's persistent refusal to Yamī's amorous demands and advances and this bears testimony to his being *dṛḍha-vrata* (13.35,36) and *dṛḍhacitta* (13.35). Likewise the Ṛgvedic version the NP-version ends with a disagreement and there is no incest. The Ṛgvedic version does not tell us as to what happened afterwards, but the NP-version tells us in the concluding part through Vyāsa's speech that Yama obtained the *devatva* (13.36), as a result of his not committing that act inspite of his being repeatedly solicited for it. His obtaining the *devatva* tends probably to suggest that he was not a *deva* before. In this aspect the NP appears to retain one of the Vedic aspects in the evolution of Yama-mythology.[15] According to RV 10.10.3 and AV 18.3.13 Yama is a *martya* which is "a unique aspect of Yama's character."[16] "He is never explicitly called a god in the RV",[17] even though he is mentioned in the company of the gods. As A. A. Macdonell puts, "thus it is implied that Yama is a god",[18] but as R. N. Dandekar observes, "it is equally significant that Yama is never called a 'man'."[19]

In the NP Yama stresses the moral and ethical side the germ of which is already traceable to the RV (cf. 10.10.12*b*). Yama emphasises to Yamī all the while that their union would be a *mahāpātaka* and in this ideology the NP follows the Dharmaśāstra-idea.[20]

En passant it may be mentioned that Yamī of the NP has not all the arguments of Yamī of the RV to impel Yama to accept and make fruitful her proffered love. For example, Yamī of the NP has not that argument that 'it is the son's bounden duty to give his father a grandson if he thinks of the future on the earth' which Yamī of the RV (*cf.* RV 10.10.1) has in course of her dialectics. Yamī of the NP is not keen on the procreation and furtherance of the race, as Yamī of the RV where "the procreative instinct of the female is quite unmistakable."[21] In the NP she is keen on inviting Yama successfully to her. Yamī of the NP is not so bold enough as the one of RV,[22] to take on herself the responsibility of Yama's unbrotherly behaviour at her own invitation

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ná tiṣṭhanti ná ni' miṣantyeté
devā'nāṃ spáśa ihá yé cáranti | RV 10.10.8 *ab*. *Cf* also RV 10 10 2 *cd*

14 *Vide* Geldner, *op.cit.*, p. 133.

15 About the different stages in the evolution of Yama-mythology, *vide* Dandekar R. N., *op.cit.*, pp. 203 ff.

16 Dandekar R. N., *op.cit.*, p. 194

17 Dandeker R. N., *op.cit.*, p. 194.

18 Macdonell A. A., *op.cit.* p. 171.

19 Dandeker R. N., *op.cit.* p. 194.

20 *Vide* Manusmṛti 11.54, 58. See Kullūka on Manusmṛti 11.58.

21 Dandeker R. N., *op. cit.*, p. 205; cf. RV 10. 10. 1,3

22 Cf. *Yamī'r Yamásya bibhṛyād ajāmi*/RV. 10. 10. 9*d*

and initiative. Unlike Yamī of the RV[23] she in the NP does not condemn and stigmatise Yama as *batá*[24] on her disdained love. Finally it may be mentioned that over and above the moral argument of Yama, the *Purāṇakāra*[25] refers to another point of this *Yamayamyupākhyāna* (13.38). In the epilogue to this *ākhyāna* (13.41) he says that it bears the infinite fruit-the *svargaphala*-to persons of resolute mind and who do not commit sins. Its listening is said to be ever sin-destroying. The satiated *pitṛs* are said not to enter the *Yamālaya*, if it is recited daily by a Brahmin at the time of *havyakavya*. Thus this *ākhyāna* is with an ethical and a didactic point.[26]

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[23] *bató batāsi Yama.. ...*/ RV 10 10. 13a

[24] *batá* : Sāyaṇa : *durbalah*, Geldner, (*op. cit.*, p. 136): 'a miserable man'; *vide* Mayrhofer M, A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary, pp. 403–404.

[25] Note also that due to the conventional moral sense of the Vedic poets and priests, the real motif of the Vedic episode is also changed to a different perspective. (*Vide* Dandekar R. N., *op. cit.*, p. 205).

[26] Note in this connection the argument based on the idea of *mahāpātaka* discussed in the course of this paper. Incidentally, it may be mentioned the RV 10. 10 is "a real ballad with a moral point" according to Geldner (*op. cit.*, p. 132).

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